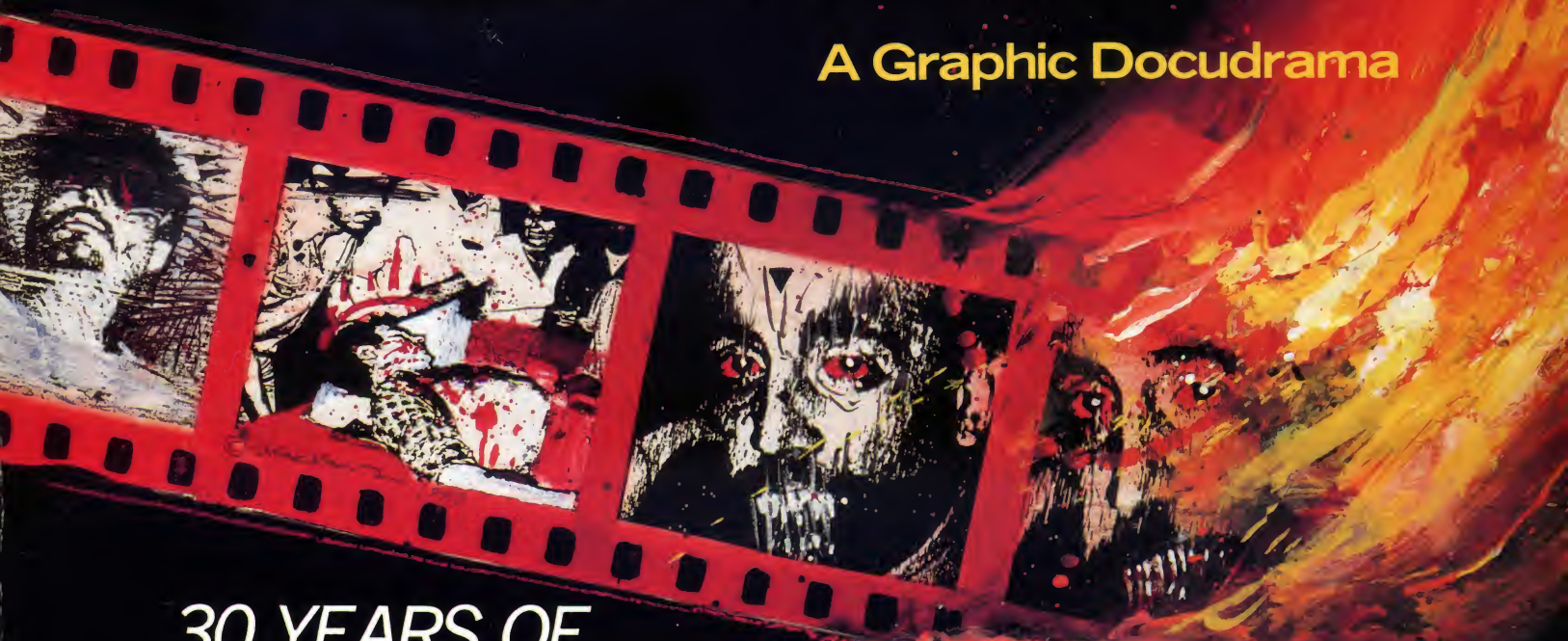


BROUGHT TO LIGHT

A Graphic Docudrama



30 YEARS OF
DRUG SMUGGLING, ARMS
DEALS AND COVERT OPERATIONS
THAT ROBBED AMERICA AND BETRAYED
THE CONSTITUTION

TWO BOOKS IN ONE

This side: Flashpoint—The La Penca Bombing

AS TOLD TO JOYCE BRABNER AND THOMAS YEATES
BY **MARTHA HONEY, TONY AVIRGAN, AND**
THE CHRISTIC INSTITUTE
INTRODUCTION BY JONATHAN MARSHALL

Not for sale in Great Britain.



"Iran/Contragate did not begin with Oliver North. Nor is the scandal just about Iran and Nicaragua. For thirty years, a Secret Team of U.S. Military and CIA officials, acting both officially and on their own, have waged secret wars, toppled governments, trafficked in drugs, assassinated political enemies, stolen from the U.S. government, and subverted the will of the Constitution, the Congress, and the American people."—THE CHRISTIC INSTITUTE

THIS BOOK CONTAINS TWO STORIES. YOU CHOOSE TO START AT EITHER END.

WITHIN THESE COVERS you'll discover two incredible investigations that met in the middle and joined forces.

YOU CAN START WITH **SHADOWPLAY: THE SECRET TEAM**, a dark vision of the Christic Institute's investigation tracing the major players in the Iran/contra scandal back through covert action in Iran, the 1960s secret war in Laos, and the Bay of Pigs fiasco.

OR YOU CAN START WITH **FLASHPOINT: THE LA PENCA BOMBING**, which tells the Hitchcockian story of two reporters struggle to discover the identity of the mysterious bomber who killed and crippled over a dozen international journalists.

WHICHEVER SIDE YOU START WITH...the trail leads to the same frightening conclusion.

BROUGHT TO LIGHT fuses the intrigue of investigative reporting and the sophistication of the graphic novel package and invents a new form—the graphic docudrama.

What noted Americans have to say
about the Christic Institute investigation:

"The Christic Institute's lawyers and researchers have uncovered volumes of incriminating evidence...It is now clear that the real patriots are not the flag-waving arms dealers who have profited from drug smuggling, but courageous citizens such as those at the Christic Institute, who have worked to expose the truth about our foreign policy."

—Coretta Scott King

"With their legal and investigative power, the Christic Institute can develop the 'record of truth' about the myriad of illegal activities surrounding this moral outrage. Their evidence, along with their public education effort, will help generate the conditions necessary for a thorough Congressional investigation of this entire travesty."

—Congressman David E. Bonior

"This lawsuit has the potential of enlightening the American public—more than anything I've seen since the Pentagon Papers and the Church Committee investigation—on the hidden arms and instruments of our covert foreign policy over the last two generations. I don't know of a single effort in the country at this time more worthy of support than the Christic Institute's lawsuit against the Secret Team."

—Daniel Ellsberg

"The Christic Institute has done this country a great service by investigating and exposing violations of law carried out by the contra network."

—Reverend Jesse Jackson

"[If] any of these little left-wing outfits like the Christic Institute have something [on me], let's see what it is. Let the American people have it examined and have a fair resolution made."

—George Bush

C O N T E N T S

THIS SIDE:

INTRODUCTION BY JONATHAN
MARSHALL

FLASHPOINT: THE LA PENCA BOMBING
BY JOYCE BRABNER AND THOMAS
YEATES

THE OTHER SIDE:

INTRODUCTION BY DANIEL SHEEHAN

SHADOWPLAY: THE SECRET TEAM
BY ALAN MOORE AND BILL
SIENKIEWICZ

IN THE CENTER:

AILING CONSTITUTION
BY PAUL MAVRIDES

WORLD MAP OF 30 YEARS OF COVERT
ACTION



BROUGHT TO LIGHT

FLASHPOINT: THE LA PENCA BOMBING

MARTHA HONEY
TONY AVIRGAN
AND THE CHRISTIC INSTITUTE

AS TOLD TO
JOYCE BRABNER AND THOMAS YEATES



ECLIPSE BOOKS
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1989

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1. Central America—Relations—United States—Comic books, strips, etc. 2. United States—Relations—Central America—Comic books, strips, etc. 3. United States—Foreign relations—1945—Comic books, strips, etc. 4. Pastora Gomez, Eden—Assassination attempt, 1984—Comic books, strips, etc. 5. Subversive activities—Nicaragua—History—20th century—Comic books, strips, etc. 6. United States. Central Intelligence Agency—Comic books, strips, etc. 7. Military Assistance, American—Nicaragua—History—20th century—Comic books, strips, etc. 8. Counter-revolutions—Nicaragua—History—20th century—Comic books, strips, etc. I. Brabner, Joyce. II. Honey, Martha. *Flashpoint*—the La Penca bombing. 1989. III. Moore, Alan. *Shadowplay*—the secret team. 1989.

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THIS BOOK HAS BEEN EDITED BY JOYCE BRABNER, THE EXECUTIVE EDITOR WAS CATHERINE YRONWODE, AND IT HAS BEEN DESIGNED BY DEAN MULLANEY. *FLASHPOINT* WAS WRITTEN BY JOYCE BRABNER, ILLUSTRATED BY THOMAS YEATES, HAND LETTERED BY BILL PEARSON, AND PAINTED BY SAM PARSONS.

DEDICATED TO LOU ANN MERKLE

THANKS TO DAN SHEEHAN, SARA NELSON, EVA BERTRAM, LANNY SIMKIN, WENDY MARKS, DAN STEGEL, AND OTHERS FROM THE CHRISTIC INSTITUTE.

THANKS ALSO TO DAVID ALBERT, DENNIS BERNSTEIN AND ROBERT KNIGHT OF WBAL-FM, LESLIE AND ANDREW COCKBURN, STUART

COHN AND DAVE CIRULNIK OF MTV, RAY DOBBINS, TOM FERAN, ROGER FRANK, RUSTY MARTIN, HARVEY PEKAR, LEONARD RIFAS EUGENE SCHEIMAN, CAROL STRINGER, CHARLIE STUART, TY WEST, AND THE MANY NEWSPAPER, MAGAZINE, TELEVISION, AND RADIO REPORTERS—TOO NUMEROUS TO NAME INDIVIDUALLY—WHO GAVE HELP, GUIDANCE, AND ASSISTANCE IN RESEARCHING AND DOCUMENTING THIS STORY.

SPECIAL THANKS TO MARTHA HONEY AND TONY AVIRGAN FOR THEIR TIME AND EFFORT.

FOR MORE INFORMATION ABOUT THE LAWSUIT ON WHICH THIS STORY IS BASED, PLEASE WRITE TO: THE CHRISTIC INSTITUTE, 1324 NORTH CAPITOL STREET NW, WASHINGTON, DC 20002. (202) 797-8106.

FOR THE PURPOSES OF STORYTELLING SOME DIALOGUE AND SETTINGS HAVE BEEN CREATED BY THE AUTHORS AND ARTISTS. HOWEVER, THE FACTUAL BASIS FOR THE STORY IS CONTAINED IN THE COMPLAINT AND OTHER DOCUMENTS FILED BY THE PLAINTIFFS IN THE CIVIL CASE NUMBER 861146, ENTITLED: TONY AVIRGAN ET AL. V. JOHN HULL ET AL. IN THE DISTRICT COURT FOR THE SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF FLORIDA. THAT CASE, WHICH WAS DISMISSED BY THE COURT ON JUNE 27, 1988, IS PRESENTLY ON APPEAL TO THE COURT OF APPEALS FOR THE ELEVENTH CIRCUIT. IN ADDITION, OTHER SOURCES WHICH ARE CONTAINED IN THE BIBLIOGRAPHY PROVIDED THE FACTS AS WELL AS MANY OF THE SETTINGS. FINALLY, BUT NOT LEAST, THE REPORTING OF, AND CONVERSATIONS WITH TONY AVIRGAN AND MARTHA HONEY PROVIDED A GREAT DEAL OF THE SOURCE MATERIAL.

Introduction to Flashpoint: The La Penca Bombing

by Jonathan Marshall

Is it a traditional comic book? Is it straight journalism? No, but it's a super story.

To an old-fashioned reader like myself, *Flashpoint: The La Penca Bombing* breaks every stereotype. On the one hand, it's not the usual superhero comic for kids, nor the kind of entertaining trash supposedly favored by semi-literate adults. On the other hand, despite its serious subject, it certainly doesn't look like journalism or scholarship. It dispenses with hedged assertions and careful weighing of evidence in favor of action, impact and visual imagination. This "graphic docudrama" comes with panel-after-panel of bright color drawings, not the usual mass of gray text and grainy halftone photography. It's like a television documentary you can carry in your pocket—and without the usual network censorship.

If the novelty of this form at first attracts distrust or confusion, it should also generate excitement. Together the text and art make a powerful statement that will inform and stimulate a wide sector of the American public.

The work traces its roots to such diverse sources as the educational comics of the 1940s and '50s and the politically oriented underground comics of the 1960s, with the superior production values of the graphic novels of the 1980s. But its authors also draw consciously and combatively from the techniques of government propaganda. The CIA has used comic books to target Third World populations with messages about the evils of communism and—in the specific case of Nicaragua—to instruct the Contras on how to disrupt the leftist Sandinista regime. This comic book has a different message, but it shares the impact of its ideological rivals.

The authors could hardly have chosen a more gripping subject to complement the power of their medium. The La Penca bombing, an attempt to assassinate Contra leader Eden Pastora in May 1984, did not by itself change history. But the investigation of it by Costa Rican-based journalists Martha Honey and Tony Avirgan opened up a window on CIA intrigues, Cuban exile politics, drugs-and-arms running and White House conspiracies long before the average American would ever hear of the Iran-Contra scandal. Their probe, in turn, became the basis of a lawsuit filed by the Christic Institute against obscure former officials who would only much later become household names: Richard Secord, Thomas Clines, John Singlaub, Robert Owen and many others.

It is a measure of the lawsuit's importance that its central claims were never seriously investigated by the joint congressional committees that convened to unearth the truth about White House crimes in Central America. They left the hot topic of drug trafficking to other committees lacking the political mandate to demand the truth. And they essentially ignored the question of administration responsibility for the attempted murder of Pastora at La Penca.

It's not as if Congress didn't have wind of the facts. As early as December 1985, two Associated Press reporters exposed the complicity of right-wing Cuban exiles and certain Contra leaders in cocaine trafficking out of northern Costa Rica. By January 1977, Newsweek and other publications were reporting assertions of drug smugglers George Morales and Gary Betzner that U.S. authorities had winked at their circular trade in guns to the Contras and cocaine to the United States. Later, in Senate testimony, Morales would implicate John Hull, an admitted CIA agent named in the Christic lawsuit, in aiding this arms-for-drugs traffic. The convicted drug-money launderer Ramon Milan-Rodriguez and other traffickers would eventually flesh out the story to a subcommittee of the Senate

Foreign Relations Committee. Yet the only real word on drugs in the final report of the Iran-Contra committees was an astonishing staff memo reporting no "corroboration of media-exploited allegations that US government-condoned drug trafficking by Contra leaders or Contra organizations or that Contra leaders or organizations did in fact take part in such activity." This despite the admission even of administration officials that some high-ranking Contra leaders in Costa Rica were guilty of smuggling.

Nor did the committees pursue assertions by individuals in the Contra aid network about assassination plots. Jesus Garcia, a Cuban exile jailed in Miami on weapons charges, claimed he was asked by members of that network to help kill the U.S. ambassador to Costa Rica, Lewis Tambs, in order to frame the Sandinistas and provoke a U.S. invasion of Nicaragua. His attorney, the respected public defender John Mattes, said, "Every claim that my client has made has been backed up. We've been able to corroborate much of what he did and where he was—facts, places, names, people that he met" (*In These Times*, December 10, 1986). In particular, Garcia received support from the former mercenary Steven Carr, who wrote in 1985, "I'm an American all the way, but I stop at killing other Americans for the sake of CIA war games" (*Oakland Tribune*, December 17, 1986).

Another active supporter of the Contras, Jack Terrell, claimed to have attended a meeting with Contra leader Adolfo Calero, Oliver North's agent Robert Owen, John Hull and others in January 1985, months after La Penca. One of the participants, a Cuban exile based in Costa Rica, allegedly said, "We put a bomb under him [Pastora], but it didn't work because of bad timing." Terrell recalled the attendees discussing new ways to kill the charismatic leader, who had angered the CIA and the Contra hierarchy by refusing to merge his own organization with that of the former Somoza national guardsmen based in Honduras (*In These Times*, December 10, 1986).

The sensitivity of such allegations is suggested by the extraordinary response they evoked from administration officials and their allies. Steven Carr told reporters that U.S. embassy officials in Costa Rica helped him jump bail and escape the country in order to keep him from talking (*New York Times*, July 13, 1987). Secord reportedly spent at least \$60,000 in Iran-Contra money to finance an ex-CIA officer's efforts to develop "derogatory" information against the Christic plaintiffs. (*Washington Post*, June 29, 1987). By inventing charges of treason, terrorism or personal harassment, Oliver North tried to draw the FBI into investigating those who threatened to blow his operation: Senator John Kerry, D-Mass., who publicized the drug and mercenary angles of the case; Jack Terrell, whom North (wrongly) believed to be the Christic Institute's "star witness"; and Daniel Sheehan, chief attorney for Christic (*San Francisco Chronicle*, April 25, 1988). And in July 1988, federal prosecutors moved to indict Terrell on Neutrality Act charges, even though it was he who tried in vain, in early 1986, to prompt Washington to crack down on illegal gunrunning to the Contras (*New York Times*, July 31, 1988).

The case, in short, is not yet history. As long as the guilty go free and the whistle-blowers face punishment, as long as the Contras continue to receive U.S. support, the La Penca story will remain a vital reminder of crimes and conspiracies that lie at the heart of U.S. foreign policy.

Jonathan Marshall is the co-author, with Peter Dale Scott and Jane Hunter, of *The Iran-Contra Connection* (South End Press, 1987).

TONY AVTIGAN, and
MARTHA SONEY,

Plaintiffs

v.
JOHN HULL, BRUCE JONES,
RENE CORBO,
FELIPE VIDAL SANTIAGO,
MOISSES DAGOBERTO NUNEZ,
FRANCISCO CHANES,
RAMON CECILIO PALACIO,
RICARDO GRIS, WILLIAM GRIS,
ROGER LEE PALLAIS
AMAC GALIL
HECTOR CORNILLOT, JORGE GONZALEZ,
ADOLFO CALERO,
ALVARO CRUZ, FREDERICO SARNZ,
ROBERT W. OWEN, JOHN K. SINGLAUB,
RONALD JOSEPH MARTIN, SR.,
JAMES MCCOY, THOMAS POSEY,
RAFAEL "CHI CHI" QUINTERO,
MARIO DELAMICO,
THOMAS CLINES,
THEODORE SHACKLEY,
ALBERT HAKIM, RICHARD SECORD
PABLO ESCOBAR, and JORGE CCHOA,

Defendants

AMENDED C
FOR RICO

COMPLAINT FOR DAMAGES AND OTHER

"IS THIS THE SAME AS THOSE HEARINGS ON TV?"

"SOME OF IT."

"WILL YOU GET IN TROUBLE FOR WRITING ABOUT IT?"

"NOT IF ENOUGH PEOPLE KNOW."

FLASHPOINT

The
La Penca
Bombing

UNTIL 1959, CUBAN DICTATOR FULGENCIO BATISTA KEPT THE RACKETS RUNNING COMFORTABLY IN HAVANA--FOR A PRICE.



WITH THE COMPLIMENTS OF SENOR TRAFFICANTE.

DRUGS, GAMBLING, PROSTITUTION...

THAT YEAR, FIDEL CASTRO OVERTHREW BATISTA, FORCING MANY OF THE MOB-STERS, INCLUDING MAFIA 'DON' SANTOS TRAFFICANTE, TO FLEE TO MIAMI.

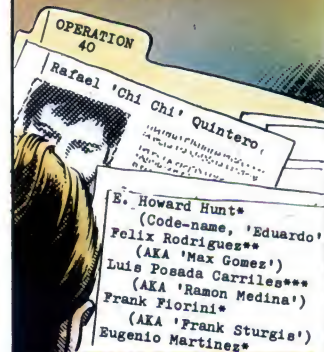


WASHINGTON D.C., 1960: VICE PRESIDENT RICHARD NIXON AND A NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL COMMITTEE -- WITHOUT CONGRESSIONAL AUTHORIZATION -- SECRETLY ESTABLISHED CONTRA-REVOLUTIONARY PLANS TO UNDERMINE, WEAKEN AND EVENTUALLY OVERTHROW CASTRO'S NEW SOCIALIST GOVERNMENT, BY USING RIGHT-WING CUBAN EXPATRIATES.



WITH THE COMPLIMENTS OF MISTER TRAFFICANTE.

LIKE THE GOOD CITIZEN HE WAS, SANTOS TRAFFICANTE HELPED SELECT FORMER ASSOCIATES OF HIS AND BATISTA FOR SPECIAL TRAINING IN POLITICAL ASSASSINATION AND OTHER TERRORIST ACTS. THE TARGETS WERE CUBAN PRESIDENT FIDEL CASTRO, HIS BROTHER RAUL CASTRO, CHE GUEVERA AND FIVE OTHER CUBAN GOVERNMENT LEADERS.



* FUTURE WATERGATE BURGLARS
** CONNECTED BY IRAN-CONTRA/CIA ACTIONS TO GEORGE BUSH'S NAT'L SECURITY ADVISOR DONALD GREGG.
*** JAILED IN VENEZUELA FOR 1976 AIR-PLANE BOMBING THAT KILLED 73; LATER ESCAPED

NICARAGUA, 1944:

EDEN PASTORA WAS 7 YEARS OLD, FROM A MIDDLE-CLASS, POLITICALLY CONSERVATIVE HOME, WHEN HE SAW CORRUPT PRESIDENT SOMOZA'S NATIONAL GUARD KILL HIS FATHER IN A LAND DISPUTE.

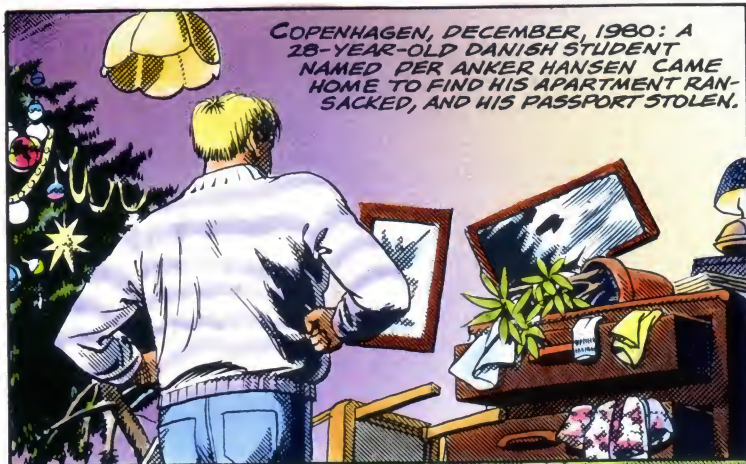
SOMOCISTAS, WHEN I AM OLDER...



HE WOULD NEVER FORGET. INSPIRED BY CASTRO, PASTORA JOINED THE SANDINISTA RESISTANCE, AND LATER BECAME A HERO, WHEN HE LED A DARING TAKE-OVER OF THE NICARAGUAN NATIONAL PALACE IN 1978.



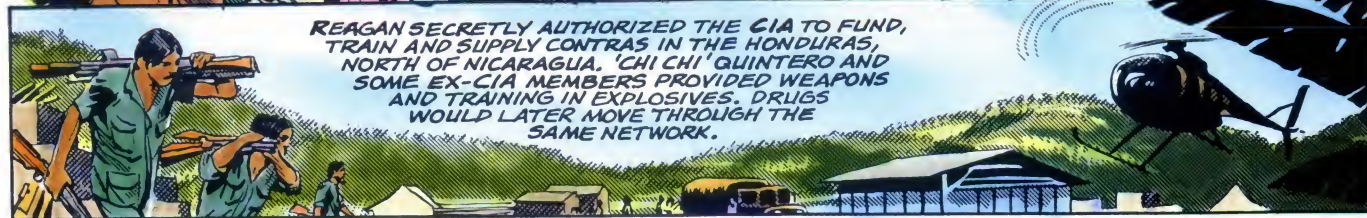
THEY CALLED HIM 'COMANDANTE ZERO'.



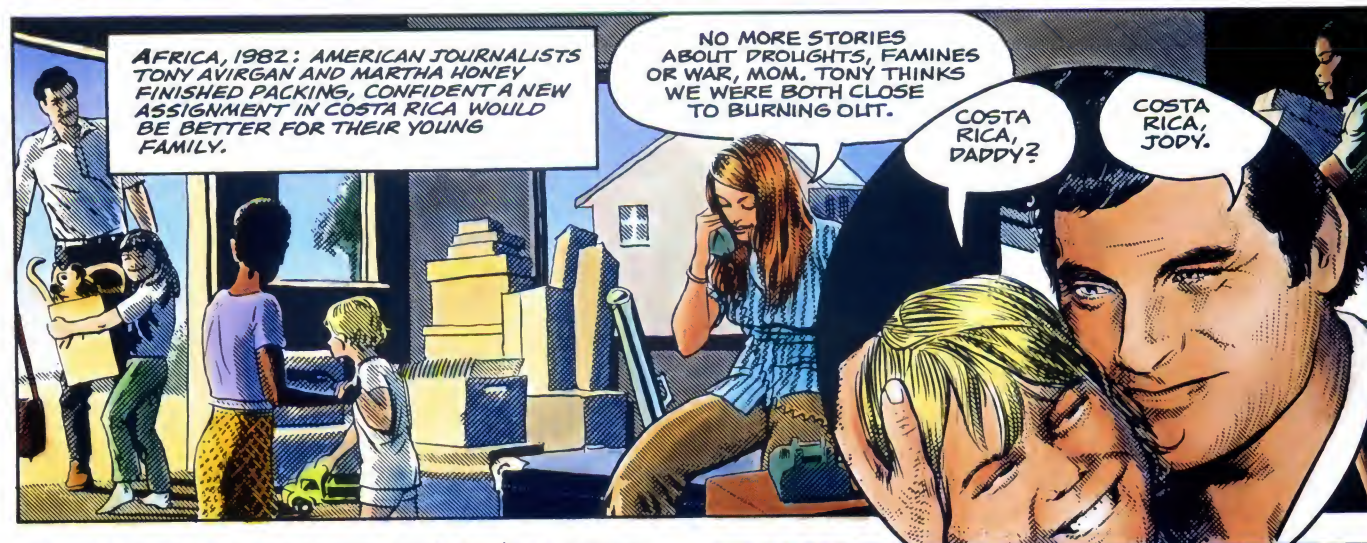
COPENHAGEN, DECEMBER, 1980: A 28-YEAR-OLD DANISH STUDENT NAMED PER ANKER HANSEN CAME HOME TO FIND HIS APARTMENT RANSACKED, AND HIS PASSPORT STOLEN.

BY 1981, PASTORA WAS DISILLUSIONED WITH THE NEW GOVERNMENT HE HELPED BRING TO POWER. HE REFUSED TO ALLY WITH THE FDN, A CIA-CREATED 'CONTRA-REVOLUTIONARY' ARMY, WHICH WAS DOMINATED BY MANY OF SOMOZA'S EX-NATIONAL GUARDSMEN. WHEN PASTORA TURNED CONTRA, HE BECAME COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE ANTI-SANDINISTA ARDE, A PEASANT ARMY HE HELPED ORGANIZE JUST ACROSS THE SOUTHERN BORDER OF NICARAGUA, IN COSTA RICA.

WE SANDINISTAS STARTED TO LIVE THE SAME RICH LIFE-STYLE AS THE SOMOCISTAS. AND THEN WE FELL INTO THE MISTAKE OF GIVING THE MILITARY TOO MUCH POWER.



REAGAN SECRETLY AUTHORIZED THE CIA TO FUND, TRAIN AND SUPPLY CONTRAS IN THE HONDURAS, NORTH OF NICARAGUA. 'CHI CHI' QUINTERO AND SOME EX-CIA MEMBERS PROVIDED WEAPONS AND TRAINING IN EXPLOSIVES. DRUGS WOULD LATER MOVE THROUGH THE SAME NETWORK.



AFRICA, 1982: AMERICAN JOURNALISTS TONY AVIRGAN AND MARTHA HONEY FINISHED PACKING, CONFIDENT A NEW ASSIGNMENT IN COSTA RICA WOULD BE BETTER FOR THEIR YOUNG FAMILY.

NO MORE STORIES ABOUT DROUGHTS, FAMINES OR WAR, MOM. TONY THINKS WE WERE BOTH CLOSE TO BURNING OUT.

COSTA RICA, DADDY?

COSTA RICA, JODY.

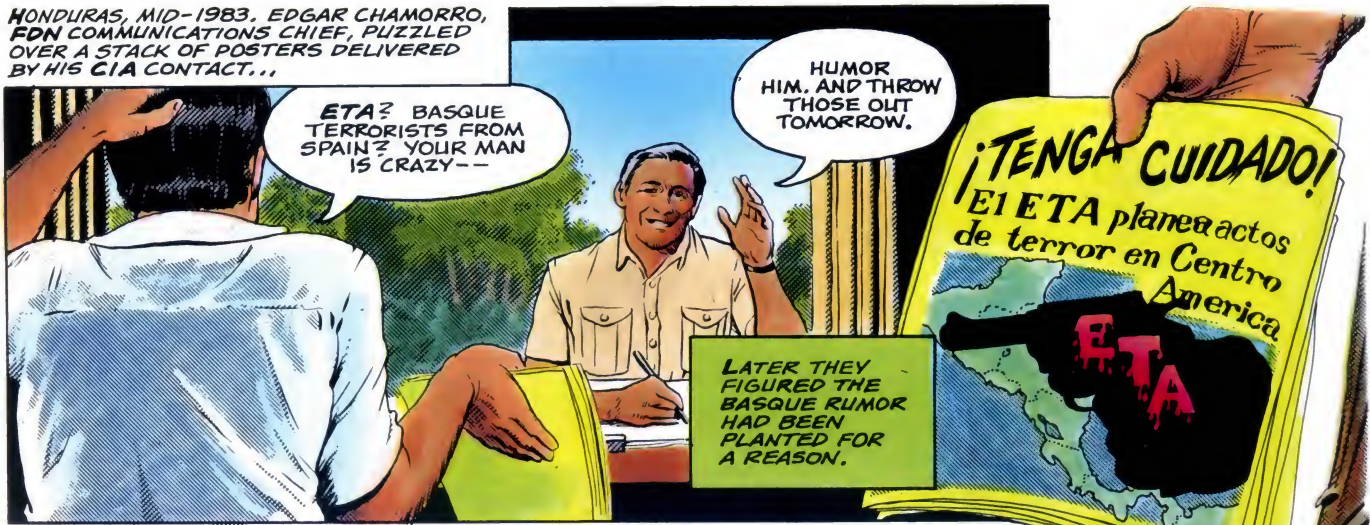
PANAMA, 1982: A MAN CALLING HIMSELF 'PER ANKER HANSEN' RENTED A LUXURY HIGH-RISE APARTMENT.



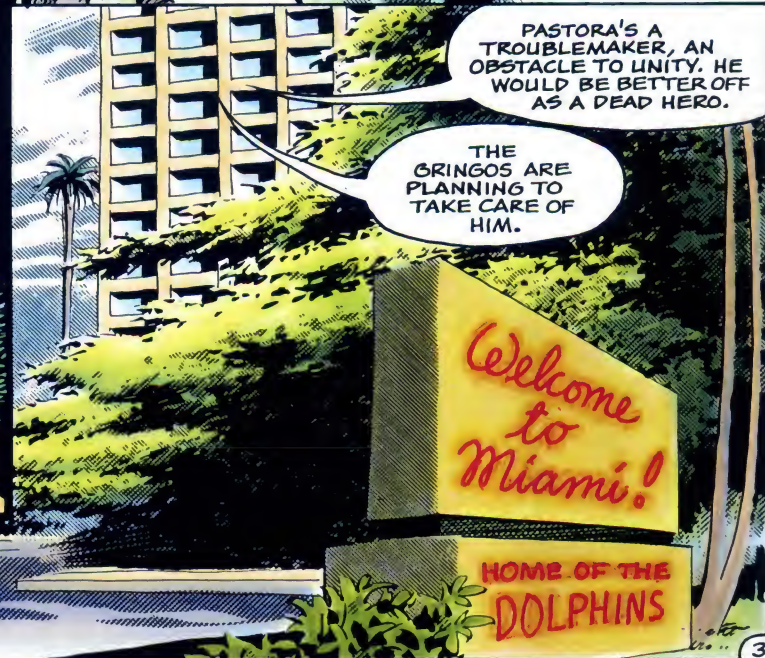
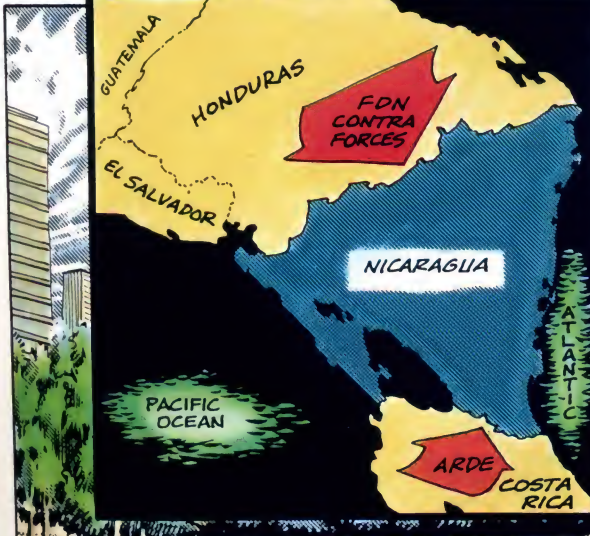
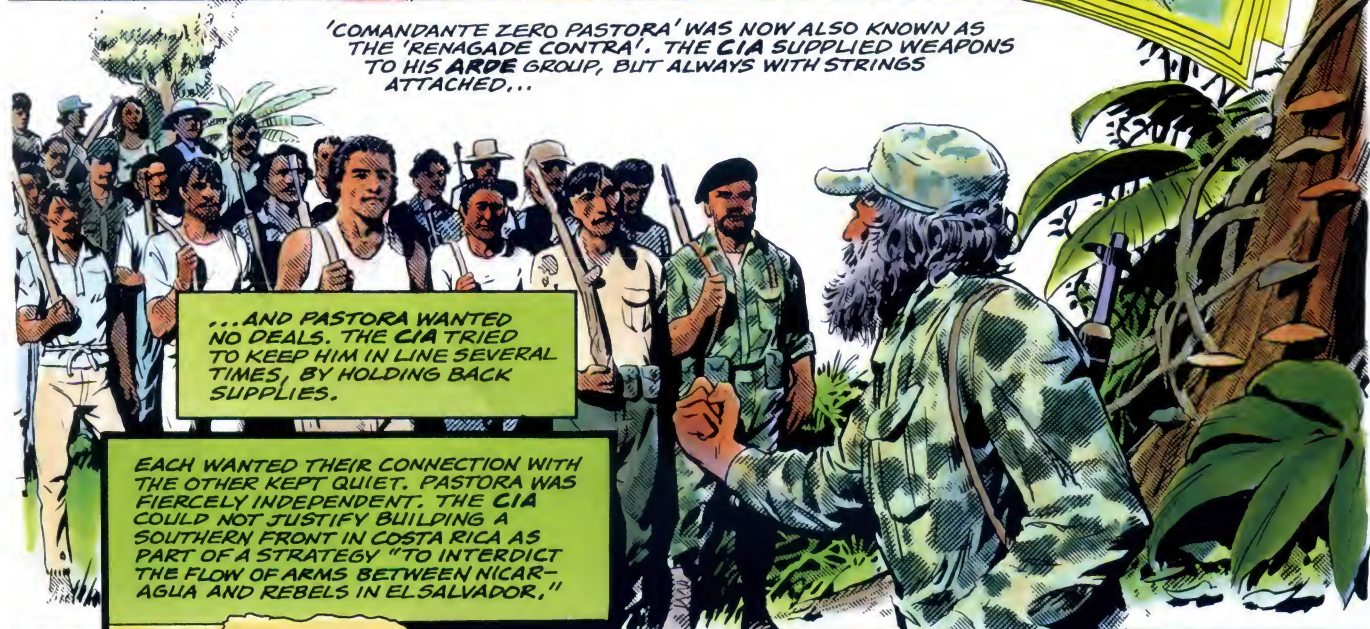
'HANSEN' ALWAYS PAID CASH. HE ONCE SAID HE WAS TAKING PICTURES FOR A BOOK ABOUT PANAMA.

IT WAS RUMORED THAT HE WAS IN SOME WAY CLOSELY CONNECTED TO GENERAL NORIEGA'S NATIONAL GUARD.

HONDURAS, MID-1983. EDGAR CHAMORRO, FDN COMMUNICATIONS CHIEF, PUZZLED OVER A STACK OF POSTERS DELIVERED BY HIS CIA CONTACT...



'COMANDANTE ZERO PASTORA' WAS NOW ALSO KNOWN AS THE 'RENAGADE CONTRA'. THE CIA SUPPLIED WEAPONS TO HIS ARDE GROUP, BUT ALWAYS WITH STRINGS ATTACHED...



25 YEARS AFTER CASTRO'S SUCCESSFUL REVOLUTION, SEVERAL VIOLENTLY ANTI-COMMUNIST CUBAN-AMERICAN GROUPS STILL OPERATED IN MIAMI.

WE WILL NEVER FORGET AND WITH YOUR LOYAL ASSISTANCE TODAY...

GROUPS WITH NAMES LIKE 'ALPHA 66', 'OMEGA 7' AND THE '2506 BRIGADE' SPECIALIZED IN ASSASSINATION AND TERRORISM. MANY HAD CIA CONNECTIONS.

OTHERS HAD BEEN PART OF THE FAILED BAY OF PIGS INVASION OF CUBA IN 1961.

IT'S WRONG -- IT'S ALL WRONG! WE HAVE RECEIVED NO CIVILIAN ASSISTANCE. NONE OF THE AIRCOVER KENNEDY PROMISED. WE'RE IN DEEP TROUBLE.

MAY, 1983: PACO CHANES RAN A LITTLE SHRIMP COMPANY THAT LAUNDERED COCAINE MONEY IN MIAMI. HE AGREED TO FUND RENE CORVO, FELIPE VIDAL AND OTHER EXILE CUBAN-AMERICAN 'VOLUNTEERS' WHO FOUGHT WITH THE CONTRAS.

NO CAMERAS! OUT, PLEASE! I AM THE MANAGER HERE.

REMEMBER, PACO CHANES WAS MOVING OLIVER NORTH'S ARMS SHIPMENT. PACO CHANES HAD A COCAINE SHIPMENT 10 FEET AWAY FROM OLIVER NORTH'S ARMS SHIPMENT. YET NOTHING IS SAID, NOTHING WILL BE SAID, BECAUSE PACO COULD JUST TURN AROUND AND PUT THE FINGER ON THE U.S. GOVERNMENT.*

* CBS WEST 57TH STREET (BROADCAST: JULY 11, 1987)

THE TRANSPORT OF WEAPONS, FLOWN DOWN TO BUILD UP A SOUTHERN FRONT, WOULD PROVIDE GOOD COVER FOR MOVING DRUGS UP BY RETURNING PLANES. HIS PARTNER, DAGO-BERTO NUNEZ, WORKED HIS END OF THIS PLAN IN COSTA RICA, WITH JOHN HULL.

JOHN HULL'S RANCH, COSTA RICA: SEPTEMBER, 1983

JOHN HULL WAS A WEALTHY AMERICAN RANCHER LIVING IN COSTA RICA, WHO CASUALLY INTRODUCED HIMSELF AS NSC* AND CIA LIASON TO THE CONTRAS. WITH BRUCE JONES, HULL RAN THE CONTRA RESUPPLY OPERATION FOR THE SOUTHERN FRONT FOR SEVERAL YEARS.

* NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

RENE CORVO AND FELIPE VIDAL'S MISSION WAS TO WIN ARDE COMMANDERS OVER, TO GET THEM TO JOIN WITH THE FDN -- WITH OR WITHOUT PASTORA.



ALTHOUGH PASTORA REFUSED TO ALLOW CUBAN-AMERICAN MERCENARIES TO JOIN ARDE, THEY WERE EVENTUALLY PLACED AMONG ARDE COMMANDERS AS 'VOLUNTEER COMBAT INSTRUCTORS' BY HULL AND JONES.



A CRACKDOWN ON COLUMBIAN COCAINE TRAFFICKERS PABLO ESCOBAR, JORGE OCHOA AND OTHERS, HAD DISRUPTED THEIR USUAL SUPPLY ROUTES. HULL'S RANCH WAS USED AS A BASE FOR PLANES CARRYING DRUGS BOUND FOR THE U.S.

GEORGE MORALES; 'DONATED' \$3 MILLION TO THE CONTRAS, AND PAID \$300,000 TO JOHN HULL, FOR EACH FLIGHT.



MICHAEL TOLLIVER: BROUGHT IN 28,000 LBS. OF WEAPONS FOR THE CONTRAS BY WAY OF HONDURAS. RETURNED TO U.S. WITH 25,360 LBS. OF MARIJUANA. ALSO PAID \$75,000 FOR THE TRIP.



GARY BETZNER: FLEW TWO SMALL AIRCRAFT LOADS OF WEAPONS TO HULL'S PRIVATE AIRSTRIP, AND RETURNED TO FLORIDA WITH APPROXIMATELY 1000 KG. OF COCAINE.



AMERICAN COCAINE ABUSE BECAME EPEDEMIC IN THE EARLY 80'S. CRACK FOLLOWED. SOME TIE THIS RISE IN ADDICTION TO THE READINESS OF THESE DRUGS NOW BEING DEALT IN THE U.S. TO SUPPLY CONTRA ARMS.

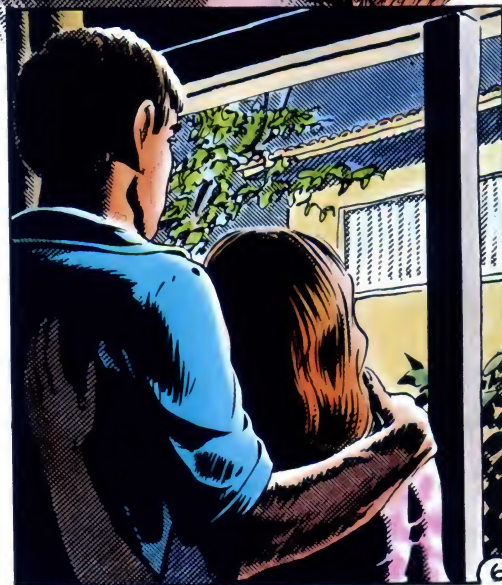
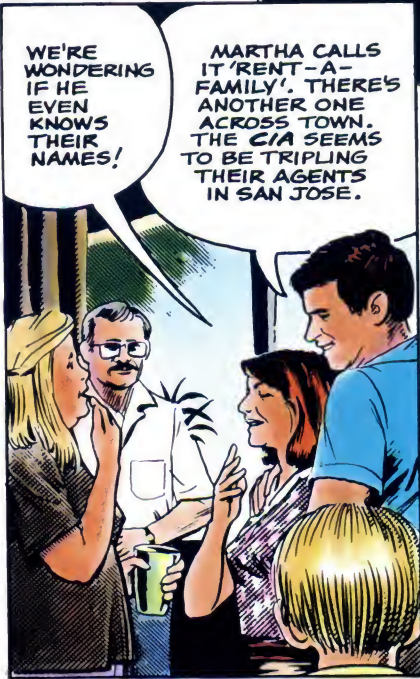
WHEN EDEN PASTORA DISCOVERED THAT ARDE COMMANDERS WERE BEING SPECIALLY TRAINED AS PART OF THE CIA PLAN TO GET AROUND HIM, HE (TEMPORARILY) QUIT ARDE, DENOUNCING THEM AS 'TRAITORS'.



COSTA RICA STARTED TO FEEL LIKE HOME TO TONY AND MARTHA. JODY AND SHANTI LEARNED SPANISH WITH ALMOST EMBARRASSING EASE. A SMALL COMMUNITY OF INTERNATIONAL JOURNALISTS MADE THE MOVE EASIER BY GENEROUSLY SHARING LEADS AND KNOW-HOW.



WE LATER FIGURED 'JACK' WAS C.I.A. SINCE THESE ARE ALL FAMILY HOMES, SOMEBODY DECIDED THAT A SINGLE MAN WOULD ATTRACT TOO MUCH ATTENTION. THE VERY NEXT DAY THEY SENT HIM A COSTA RICAN WOMAN WITH TWO KIDS, AND WITHOUT BATTING AN EYE...



JOHN HULL'S FARM:
JANUARY, 1984 —

FORGET ABOUT
EDEN. HE'S A TROUBLE-
MAKER. ONCE HE'S GONE,
THE REST WILL STEP
IN LINE.

I KNOW SOME
PEOPLE WHO WOULD AGREE
WITH YOU, JOHN.

TALK TO THEM. THEN WE
CAN PUT THIS WHOLE PROBLEM
BEHIND US, AND TAKE CARE OF
MORE IMPORTANT BUSINESS...

WHAT WE
NEED, BOYS, IS
TEAMWORK.

THIS WAS WHAT
RONALD REAGAN MEANT
BY SUPPORTING THE MORAL
EQUIVALENT OF OUR FOUNDING
FATHERS. IN FEBRUARY, 1984,
TWO MEN TRAVELED TO CHILE
ON BEHALF OF THE
CONSPIRACY.

"WE BELIEVE THEY
HIRED A TRAINED
ASSASSIN WHO USED
THE NAME 'PER ANKER
HANSEN'. HE WAS
ALSO KNOWN AS
AMAC GALIL."

DEFEND OUR
CONSTITUTION
STOP THE
SECRET TEAM

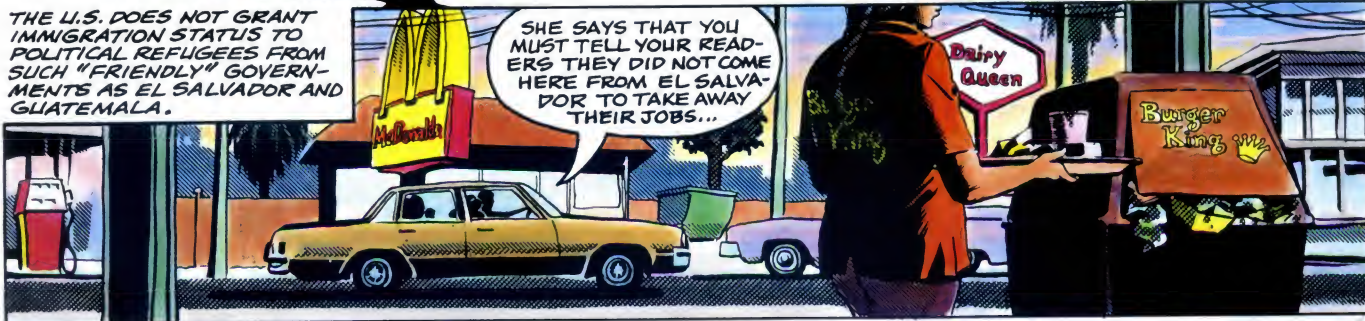
"WE ALSO BELIEVE THAT \$50,000 PASSED
FROM VIDAL AND CORVO TO GALIL, FOR
THE BOMBING OPERATION."

CASA ROMERO, BROWNSVILLE, TEXAS: MARCH, 1984



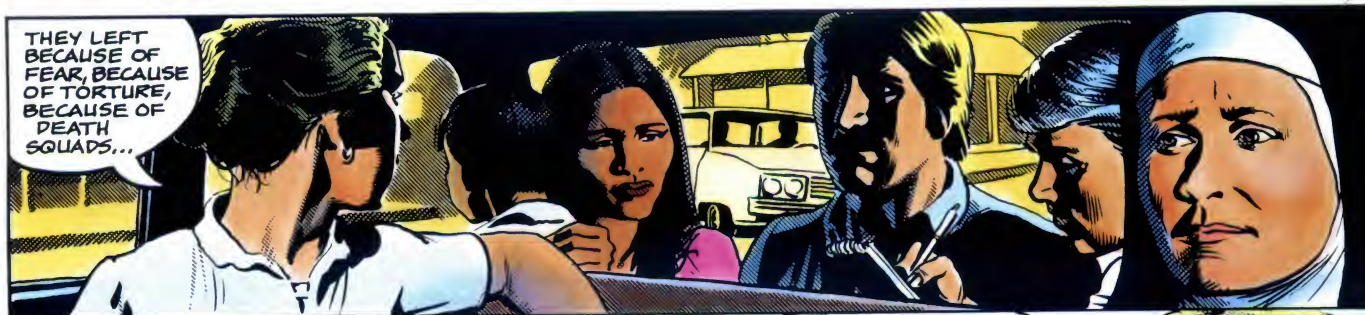
THE FIRST SANCTUARY STOP ALONG A NEW "UNDERGROUND RAILROAD", A WAY FOR CHURCHWORKERS AND FRIENDS TO SHELTER AND MOVE THOSE WHO FLEE FOR THEIR LIVES.

THE U.S. DOES NOT GRANT IMMIGRATION STATUS TO POLITICAL REFUGEES FROM SUCH "FRIENDLY" GOVERNMENTS AS EL SALVADOR AND GUATEMALA.



SHE SAYS THAT YOU MUST TELL YOUR READERS THEY DID NOT COME HERE FROM EL SALVADOR TO TAKE AWAY THEIR JOBS...

THEY LEFT BECAUSE OF FEAR, BECAUSE OF TORTURE, BECAUSE OF DEATH SQUADS...



DEAR GOD, THEY WERE FOLLOWING US. THEY'VE PUT THE BUBBLE ON THE ROOF!

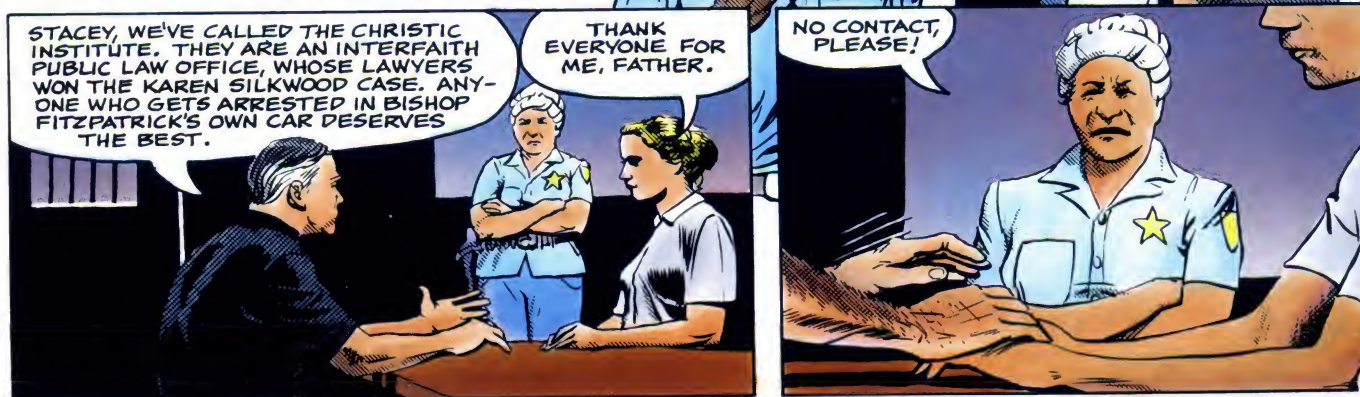
...THE UNLAWFUL TRANSPORTATION OF UNDOCUMENTED ALIENS. YOU HAVE THE RIGHT TO REMAIN SILENT...



STACEY, WE'VE CALLED THE CHRISTIC INSTITUTE. THEY ARE AN INTERFAITH PUBLIC LAW OFFICE, WHOSE LAWYERS WON THE KAREN SILKWOOD CASE. ANYONE WHO GETS ARRESTED IN BISHOP FITZPATRICK'S OWN CAR DESERVES THE BEST.

THANK EVERYONE FOR ME, FATHER.

NO CONTACT, PLEASE!



WHILE PREPARING TO DEFEND STACEY MERKT, THE FIRST SANCTUARY CHURCH-WORKER ARRESTED FOR TRANSPORTING SALVADORAN REFUGEES IN TEXAS, FR. WALLY KASUBOSKI AND ATTORNEY DAN SHEEHAN WERE VISITED BY A METHODIST MINISTER.



AN FBI AGENT HAS WARNED ME THAT THE SANCTUARY MOVEMENT AND THE CATHOLIC CHURCH ARE SMUGGLING KNOWN TERRORISTS INTO THE U.S.

I WAS TOLD THAT IF THE PRESIDENT DIRECTED MILITARY ACTION IN EL SALVADOR, OR IF WE INVADDED NICARAGUA, THESE COMMUNIST TERRORISTS WOULD ORGANIZE INTO MILITARY CADRES...



WHEW! CAN YOU BELIEVE--

--WHAT I COULDN'T BELIEVE IS HOW YOU KEPT A STRAIGHT FACE THROUGH ALL THAT!

WHEN A SECOND MINISTER VISITED, WITH THE SAME QUESTIONS, IT WASN'T SO FUNNY.



...AND THESE TERRORISTS WOULD THEN LAUNCH MILITARY STRIKES AGAINST ARMY BASES, COMMUNICATIONS CENTERS AND WATER RESOURCE SYSTEMS IN THE U.S.

WHAT YOU'VE JUST TOLD US PROVES THAT THE U.S. GOVERNMENT HAS A **MILITARY** ATTITUDE TOWARD THE REFUGEES FROM GUATEMALA AND EL SALVADOR-- NOT A POLITICAL OR AN ECONOMIC ATTITUDE. AND CERTAINLY NOT EVEN A **HUMANITARIAN** ATTITUDE.

WE HAVE TO LOOK INTO THIS. HE WAS VISITED BY A DIFFERENT FBI AGENT. THAT MEANS SOMEONE, SOMEWHERE, IS MAKING PLANS.

THE CHRISTIC INSTITUTE HAD GOOD CONTACTS, INCLUDING SEVERAL INVESTIGATIVE REPORTERS. BACK IN WASHINGTON, THEY BEGAN TO ASK QUESTIONS: WHO WAS SPREADING THESE STORIES? WHY?

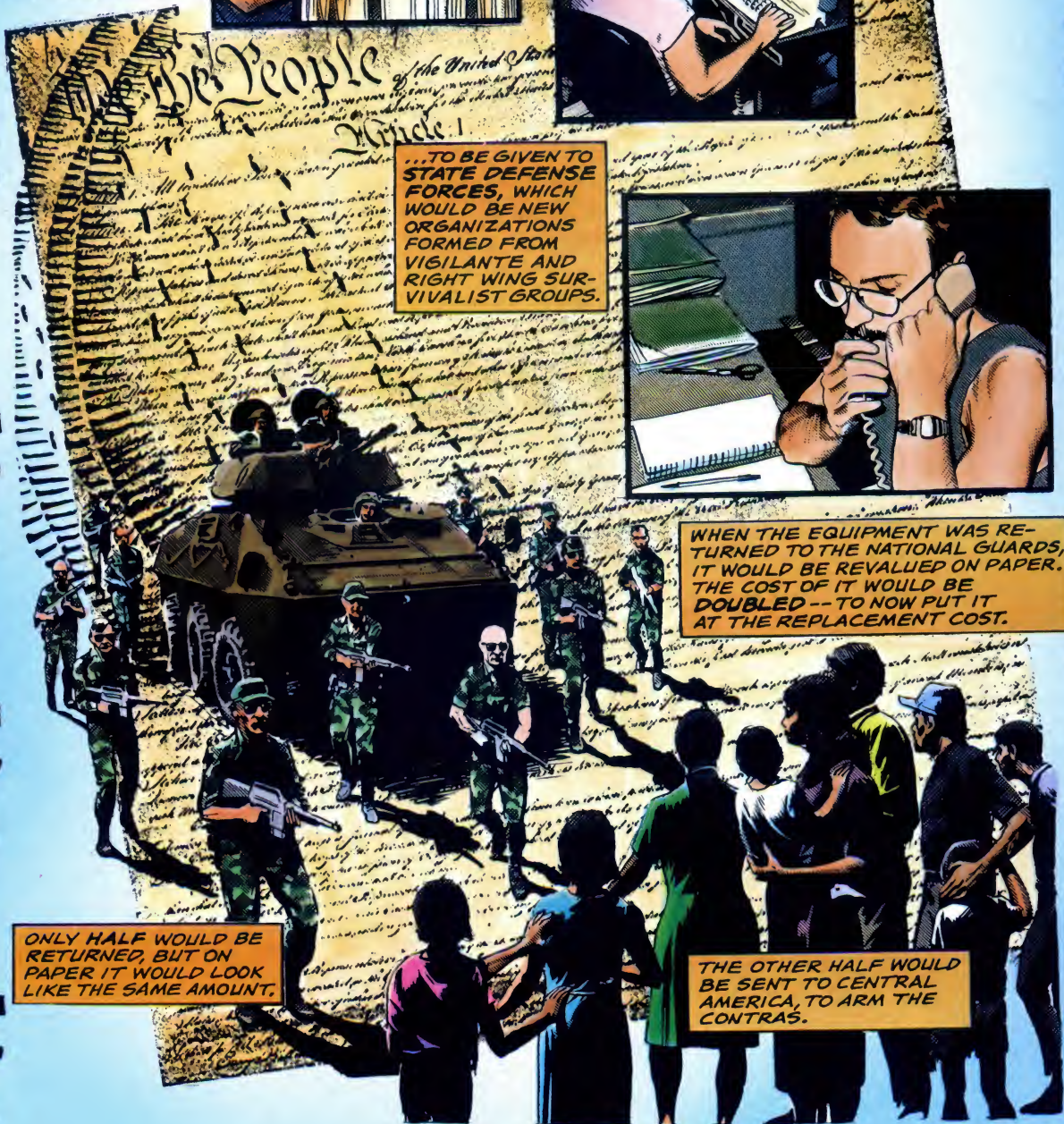


THE CHRISTIC INSTITUTE RESEARCHERS DISCOVERED THAT FEMA, THE FEDERAL EMERGENCY MANAGEMENT AGENCY, HAD EXTENSIVE AND SHOCKING PLANS, WHICH INCLUDED "READINESS EXERCISES" CONDUCTED AROUND THE COUNTRY TO PREPARE TO ROUND UP, "IN THE EVENT OF A NATIONAL EMERGENCY", 400,000 UNDOCUMENTED REFUGEES...

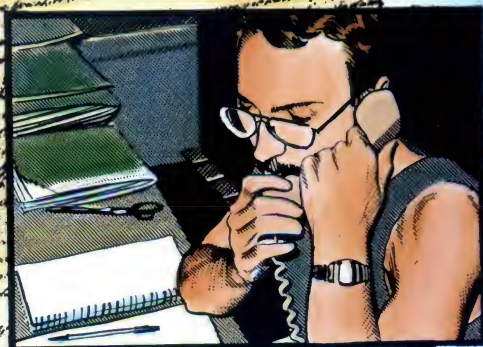


...AND PUT THEM IN TEN HUGE DETENTION CAMPS AROUND THE COUNTRY.

THEY HAD ANOTHER "READINESS EXERCISE" WHICH WAS TO MOVE MILITARY EQUIPMENT FROM THE PENTAGON DOWN TO THE STATE NATIONAL GUARDS...



...TO BE GIVEN TO STATE DEFENSE FORCES, WHICH WOULD BE NEW ORGANIZATIONS FORMED FROM VIGILANTE AND RIGHT WING SURVIVALIST GROUPS.



WHEN THE EQUIPMENT WAS RETURNED TO THE NATIONAL GUARDS, IT WOULD BE REVALUED ON PAPER. THE COST OF IT WOULD BE DOUBLED -- TO NOW PUT IT AT THE REPLACEMENT COST.

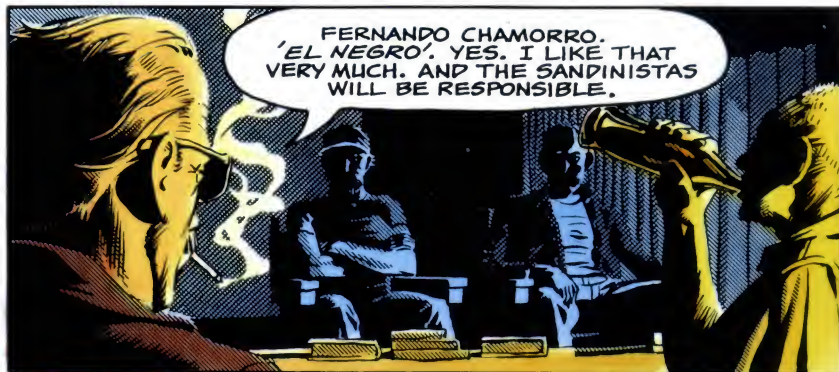
ONLY HALF WOULD BE RETURNED, BUT ON PAPER IT WOULD LOOK LIKE THE SAME AMOUNT.

THE OTHER HALF WOULD BE SENT TO CENTRAL AMERICA, TO ARM THE CONTRAS.

MEANWHILE, THE PLOT TO BOMB EDEN PASTORA WAS BEING WORKED OUT IN MIAMI AND HONDURAS, IN MEETINGS BETWEEN **FDN** OFFICIALS, (INCLUDING ADOLFO CALERO) THE THREE MIAMI-BASED CUBANS, PACO CHANES, FELIPE VIDAL AND RENE CORVO, JOHN HULL AND OTHERS IDENTIFIED TO THE GROUP AS BEING FROM THE **CIA**.



PASTORA'S JUST A BENCHWARMER. WE BRING IN BLACKIE CHAMORRO.



FERNANDO CHAMORRO. 'EL NEGRO'. YES. I LIKE THAT VERY MUCH. AND THE SANDINISTAS WILL BE RESPONSIBLE.

THEY ALSO WANTED TO KILL A JOURNALIST, AND TALKED ABOUT BILL STEWART, AN **ABC** MAN KILLED BY SOMOZA'S PEOPLE. THEY WANTED THAT KIND OF PUBLICITY, THAT OUTRAGE.

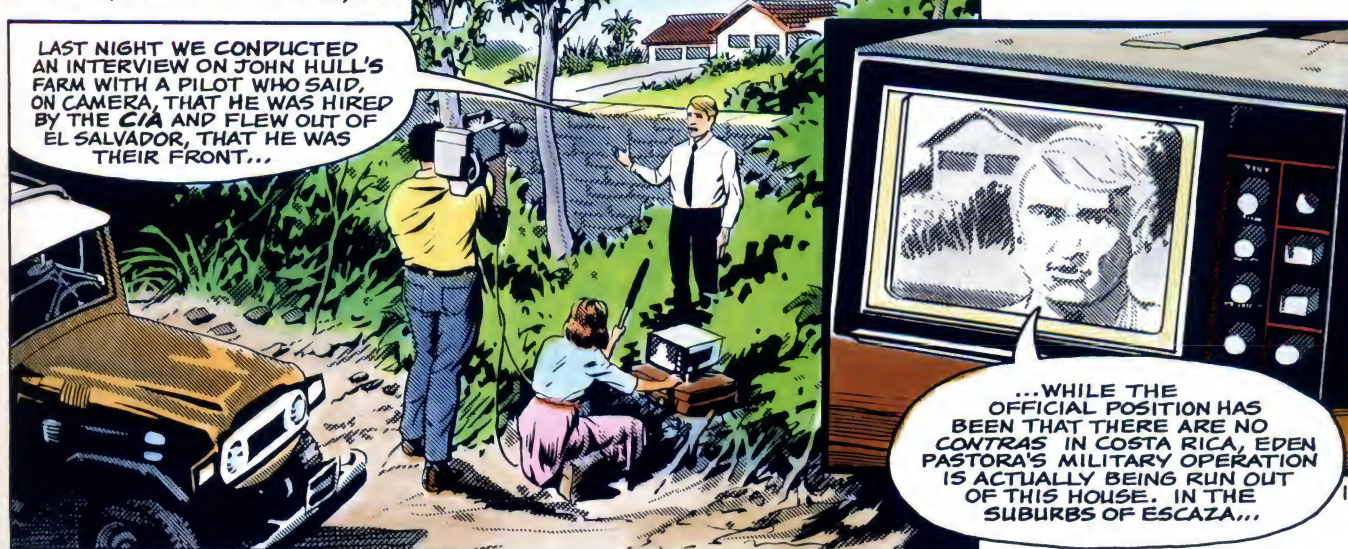
MARCH 14, 1984:



I DON'T KNOW WHERE THEY'RE GETTING THIS. BOTH 'LA NACION' AND 'LA REPUBLICA' HAVE STORIES TODAY THAT NINE BASQUE TERRORISTS MIGHT BE IN COSTA RICA.

I THOUGHT THEY WERE SUPPOSED TO BE IN PANAMA.

SAN JOSE, COSTA RICA: APRIL, 1984



LAST NIGHT WE CONDUCTED AN INTERVIEW ON JOHN HULL'S FARM WITH A PILOT WHO SAID, ON CAMERA, THAT HE WAS HIRED BY THE **CIA** AND FLEW OUT OF EL SALVADOR, THAT HE WAS THEIR FRONT...

...WHILE THE OFFICIAL POSITION HAS BEEN THAT THERE ARE NO **CONTRAS** IN COSTA RICA, EDEN PASTORA'S MILITARY OPERATION IS ACTUALLY BEING RUN OUT OF THIS HOUSE. IN THE SUBURBS OF ESCAZA...

AS THE NEWS CREW
PULLED AWAY FROM
THE SHOOT, SOME OF
PASTORA'S MEN CHASED
THEN PULLED IN FRONT
AND BLOCKED TONY'S
JEEP.



ONE OF PASTORA'S MEN
STAYED SEATED, AS
THE REST JUMPED OUT.



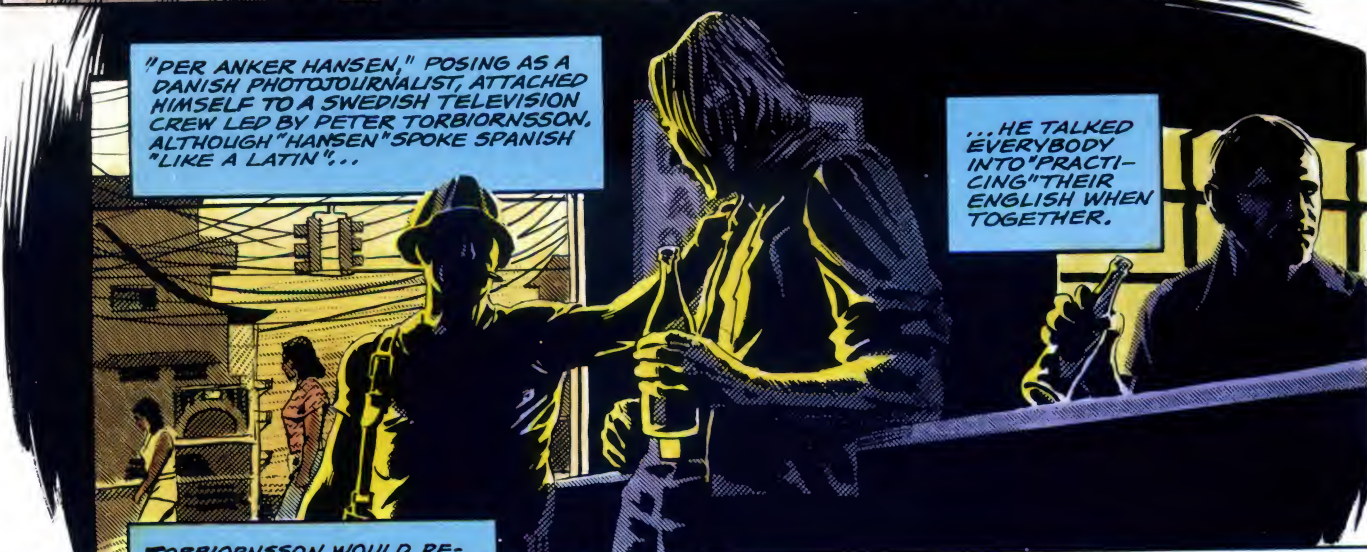
IT WOULD BE MANY MONTHS
BEFORE THE MAN WHO WAS
SEATED TRUSTED TONY
AND MARTHA ENOUGH TO
TELL THEM ABOUT THE
LOADED MACHINE GUN
HE HELD READY.



ON MAY 1, 1984,
THE CIA GAVE EDEN
PASTORA 30 DAYS TO
ALLY WITH THE FDN.

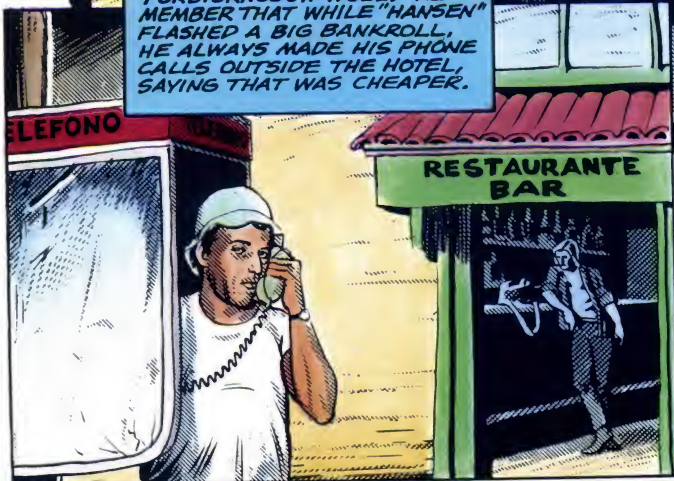


"PER ANKER HANSEN," POSING AS A
DANISH PHOTOJOURNALIST, ATTACHED
HIMSELF TO A SWEDISH TELEVISION
CREW LED BY PETER TORBIORNSSON.
ALTHOUGH "HANSEN" SPOKE SPANISH
"LIKE A LATIN"...



...HE TALKED
EVERYBODY
INTO "PRACTI-
CING" THEIR
ENGLISH WHEN
TOGETHER.

TORBIORNSSON WOULD RE-
MEMBER THAT WHILE "HANSEN"
FLASHED A BIG BANKROLL,
HE ALWAYS MADE HIS PHONE
CALLS OUTSIDE THE HOTEL,
SAYING THAT WAS CHEAPER.

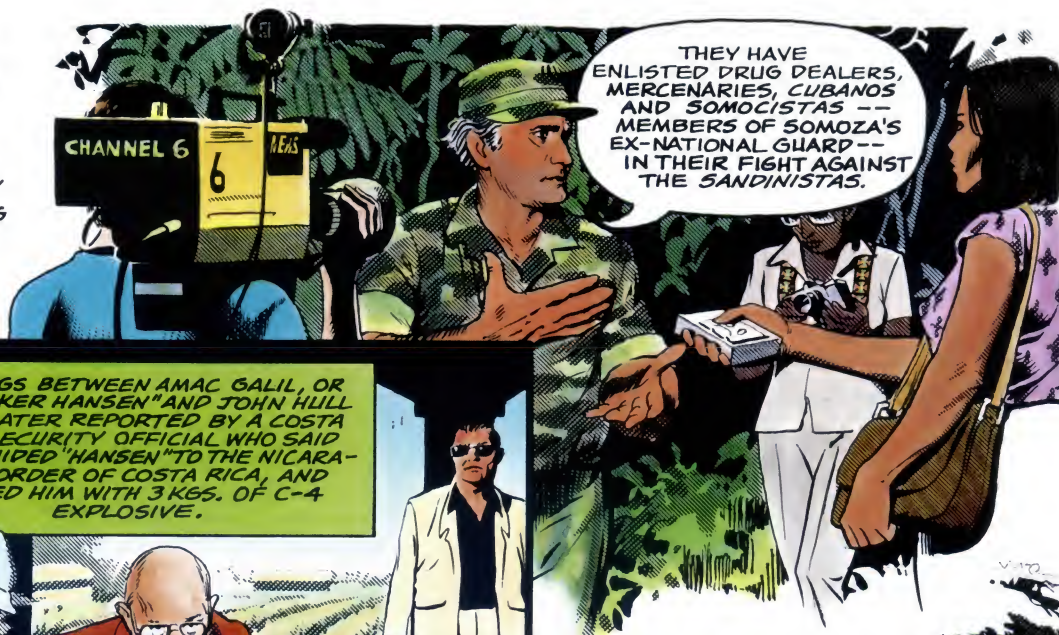


"HANSEN" DIDN'T
SEEM TO KNOW
MUCH ABOUT
PHOTOGRAPHY,
HIS EQUIPMENT
SEEMED NEARLY
NEW.

LIKE
TORBIORNSSON,
HE WANTED TO
FIND AND
INTERVIEW
EDEN PASTORA.



PRESSURED BY THE CIA, PASTORA HAD STORMED OUT OF A SECRET ARDE MEETING IN COSTA RICA, RATHER THAN JOIN THE NORTHERN CONTRAS UNDER CALERO. THAT MONTH, HE SLIPPED IN AND OUT OF COSTA RICA, GIVING RADIO AND TV INTERVIEWS DENOUNCING THE FDN CONTRAS AND THE CIA.



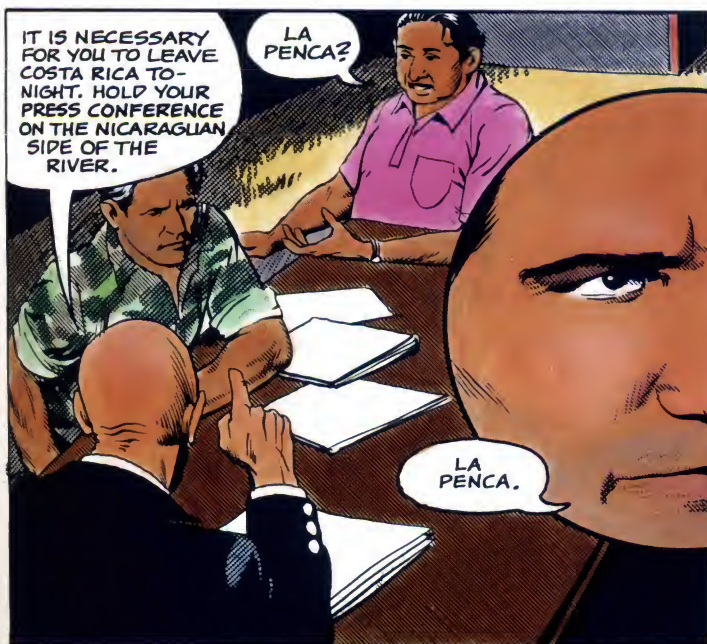
MEETINGS BETWEEN AMAC GALIL, OR "PER ANKER HANSEN" AND JOHN HULL WERE LATER REPORTED BY A COSTA RICAN SECURITY OFFICIAL WHO SAID HULL GUIDED "HANSEN" TO THE NICARAGUAN BORDER OF COSTA RICA, AND PROVIDED HIM WITH 3 KGS. OF C-4 EXPLOSIVE.



TORBJORNSSON'S CREW TRAVELED THE SAN JUAN RIVER, TRYING TO FIND PASTORA'S CAMP. "HANSEN" BEGAN TO GROW A BEARD.



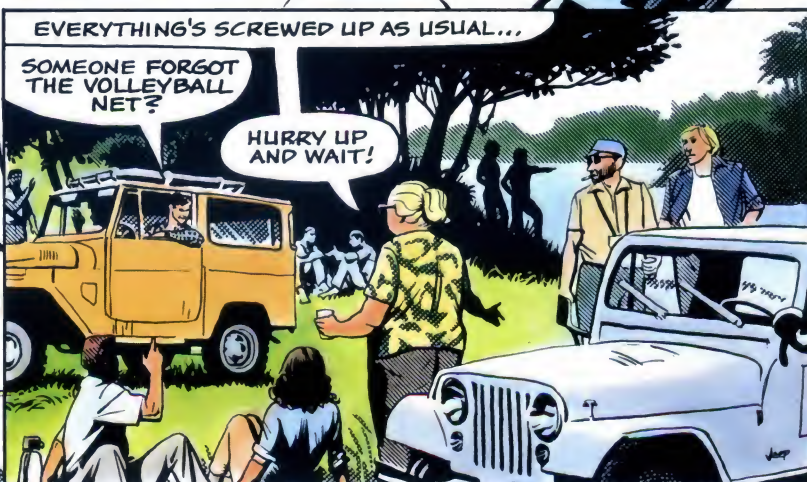
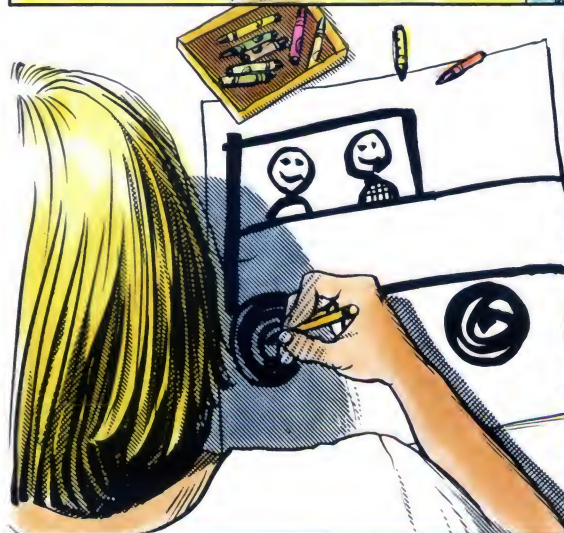
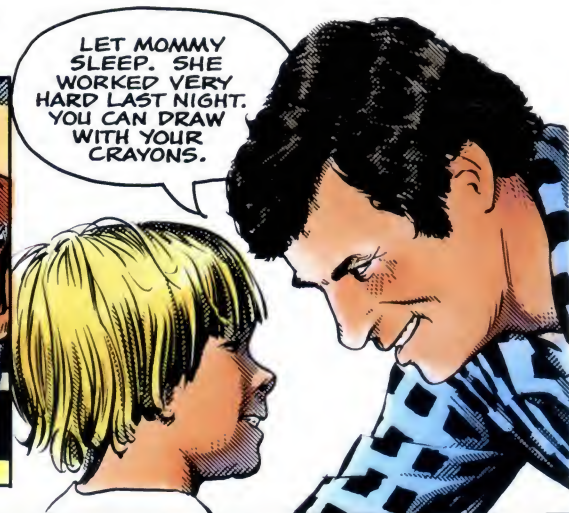
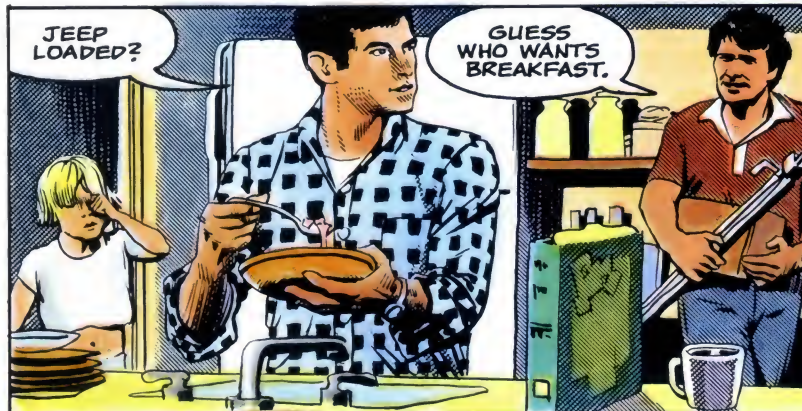
THE DAY BEFORE THEIR ULTIMATUM EXPIRED, THE CIA SENT A VERY CO-OPERATIVE COSTA RICAN, COL. PANIAGUA, TO MEET REPEATEDLY WITH PASTORA.



PASTORA'S LA PENCA BASE CAMP WAS EIGHT HOURS BY ROAD AND RIVER FROM SAN JOSE. A PRESS CONFERENCE WAS ORGANIZED QUICKLY THAT NIGHT.



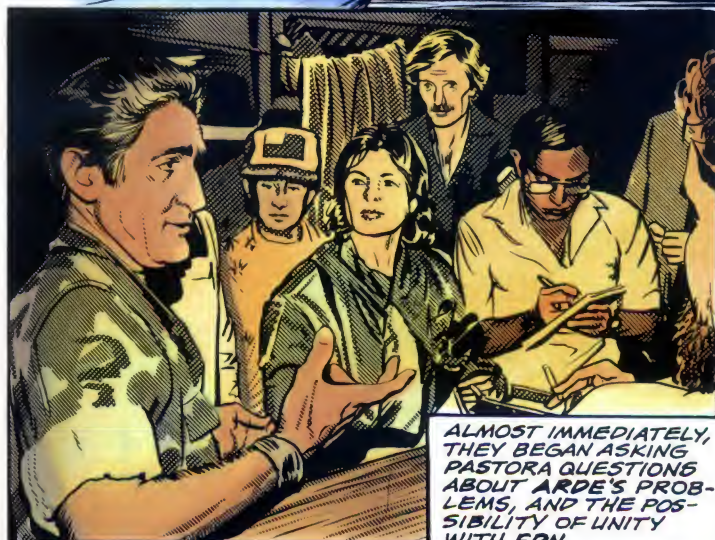
EARLY MORNING, MAY 30, 1984: TONY AND HIS ASSISTANT EDGAR ULATE PREPARED FOR THE UPRIVER TRIP TO LA PENCA, TO COVER PASTORA'S PRESS CONFERENCE.



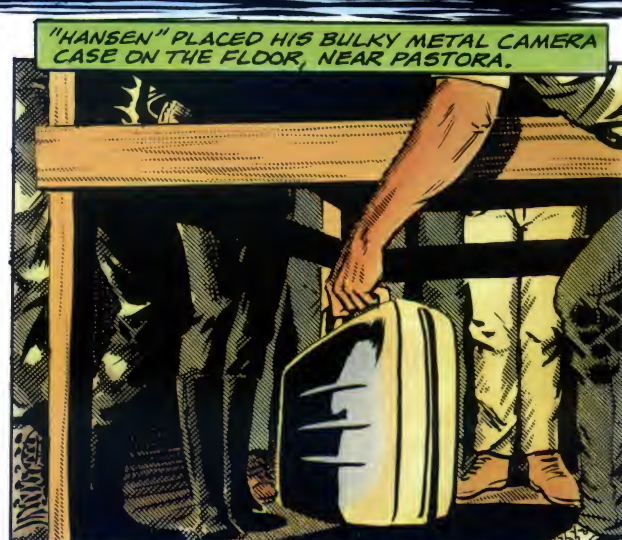
THE JOURNALISTS ARRIVED AT LA PENCA AFTER SUNDOWN. THEY SCRAMBLED UP A MUDDY BANK,



THERE WAS NO SECURITY CHECK WHEN THEY ENTERED THE ARDE CAMP.



ALMOST IMMEDIATELY, THEY BEGAN ASKING PASTORA QUESTIONS ABOUT ARDE'S PROBLEMS, AND THE POSSIBILITY OF UNITY WITH FDN.



"HANSEN" PLACED HIS BULKY METAL CAMERA CASE ON THE FLOOR, NEAR PASTORA.

HE SNAPPED A FEW PICTURES, COMPLAINED LOUDLY THAT HIS CAMERA WAS NOT WORKING...



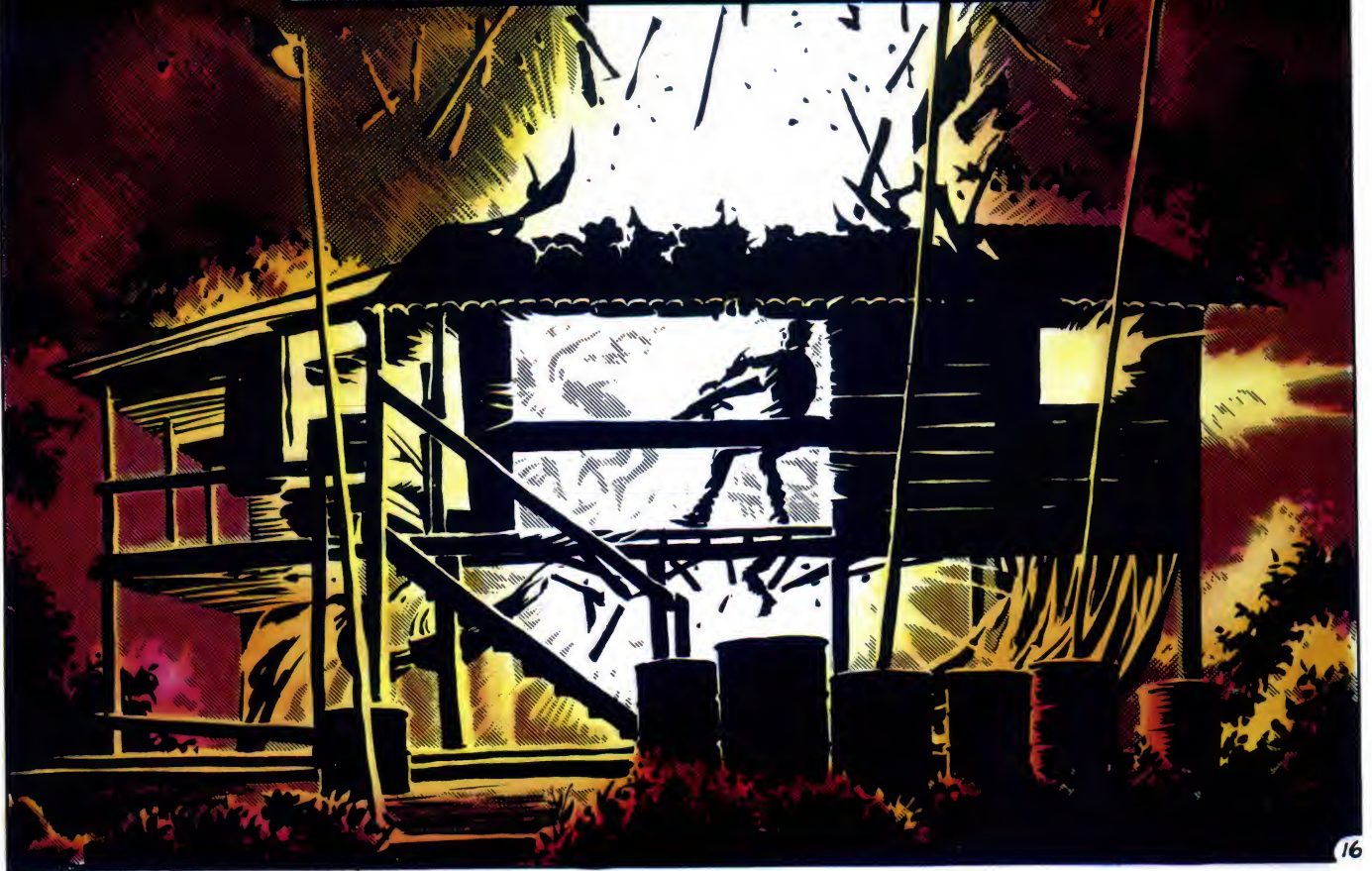
...AND BACKED AWAY FROM THE CROWD.



THE LAST FILM THAT CAMERAMAN JORGE QUIROS WOULD EVER SHOOT CAUGHT "HANSEN" EDGING TOWARD THE DOOR LEADING TO THE OUTER STAIRWAY.

THE REST OF THE JOURNALISTS MOVED STILL CLOSER TO PASTORA.







"WERE YOU KNOCKED UNCONSCIOUS?"

"NO... I WAS SITTING ON A SACK OF RICE, HAVING A CUP OF COFFEE, AND I JUST SAW A BRIGHT FLASH, AND HEARD THIS BONG BONG, LIKE A BELL RINGING IN MY EAR. THEN I FELT MY EYEBROWS AND HAIR BURNING.



"I ROLLED DOWN ON THE FLOOR, TO PUT THE FIRE OUT OF MY HAIR. AND THEN I REALIZED THAT IT WASN'T JUST ME, IT WAS LOTS OF OTHER PEOPLE, BECAUSE I HEARD ALL THIS MOANING.

"I HAD SHRAPNEL ALL OVER MY LEGS AND CHEST, AND SOMETHING HAD HIT MY HAND, BECAUSE THE SKIN WAS ALL BURNED OFF. I KIND OF FELL DOWN THE STEPS, ONTO THE GROUND OUTSIDE.

"BACK INSIDE, THEY WERE DIGGING PEOPLE OUT. THEY PUT LINDA FRAZIER ON THE GROUND NEAR ME, AND I LOOKED OVER, AND IT WAS JUST HORRIBLE... BOTH HER LEGS WERE GONE, AND SHE WAS ALSO NOT UNCONSCIOUS, AND SHE WAS... AH...

"...I CRAWLED OVER TO HER AND SHE SAID, 'AM I GOING TO DIE?' ...AND I... I JUST DIDN'T KNOW WHAT TO SAY TO HER... I THOUGHT... WELL... I MEAN, WHAT I THOUGHT WAS...

"I JUST COULDN'T SAY WHAT I THOUGHT, WHICH WAS, 'IT'S AMAZING YOU'RE ALIVE NOW.' "

"SHE DID DIE, DIDN'T SHE?"

"SHE DIED."

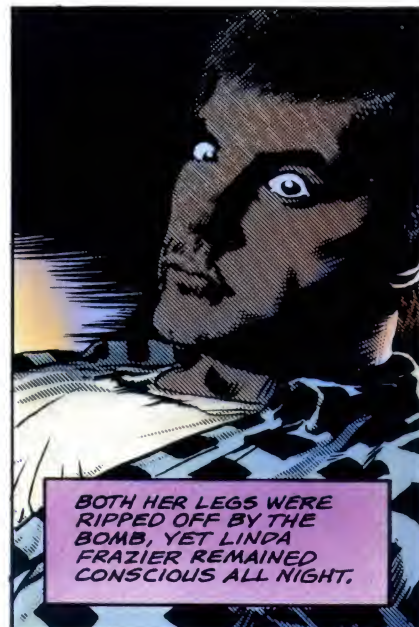
A REPORTER WITH A SHORT-WAVE SET RADIOED NEWS OF THE EXPLOSION, AND A PLEA FOR EMERGENCY ASSISTANCE. PASTORA'S MEN RUSHED HIM AWAY IN THE ONLY AVAILABLE SPEEDBOAT. THOSE ABLE CLIMBED DOWN A STEEP MUDDY EMBANKMENT TO A SECOND BOAT. OTHERS WERE LEFT BEHIND TO WAIT.



IT TOOK 4 HOURS FOR THAT BOAT TO RETURN, THEN 5 MORE HOURS BY RIVER AND BUMPY BACK ROADS TO A RURAL HOSPITAL...



AM I GOING TO DIE, TONY? AM I GOING TO DIE?



BOTH HER LEGS WERE RIPPED OFF BY THE BOMB, YET LINDA FRAZIER REMAINED CONSCIOUS ALL NIGHT.

TONY HEARD HER SCREAM WHEN THEY FINALLY CARRIED HER DOWN TO THE BOAT.



SI, A REAL MESS... I'VE GOT A DEAD WOMAN HERE, A JOURNALIST...

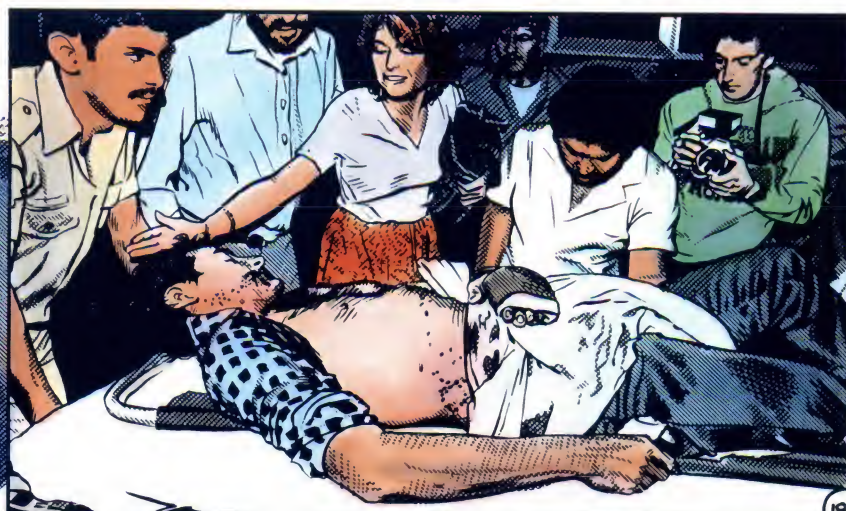
"JACK" NEXT DOOR KNOWS WE KNOW HE'S CIA, BUT HE COULDN'T TELL ME A THING.

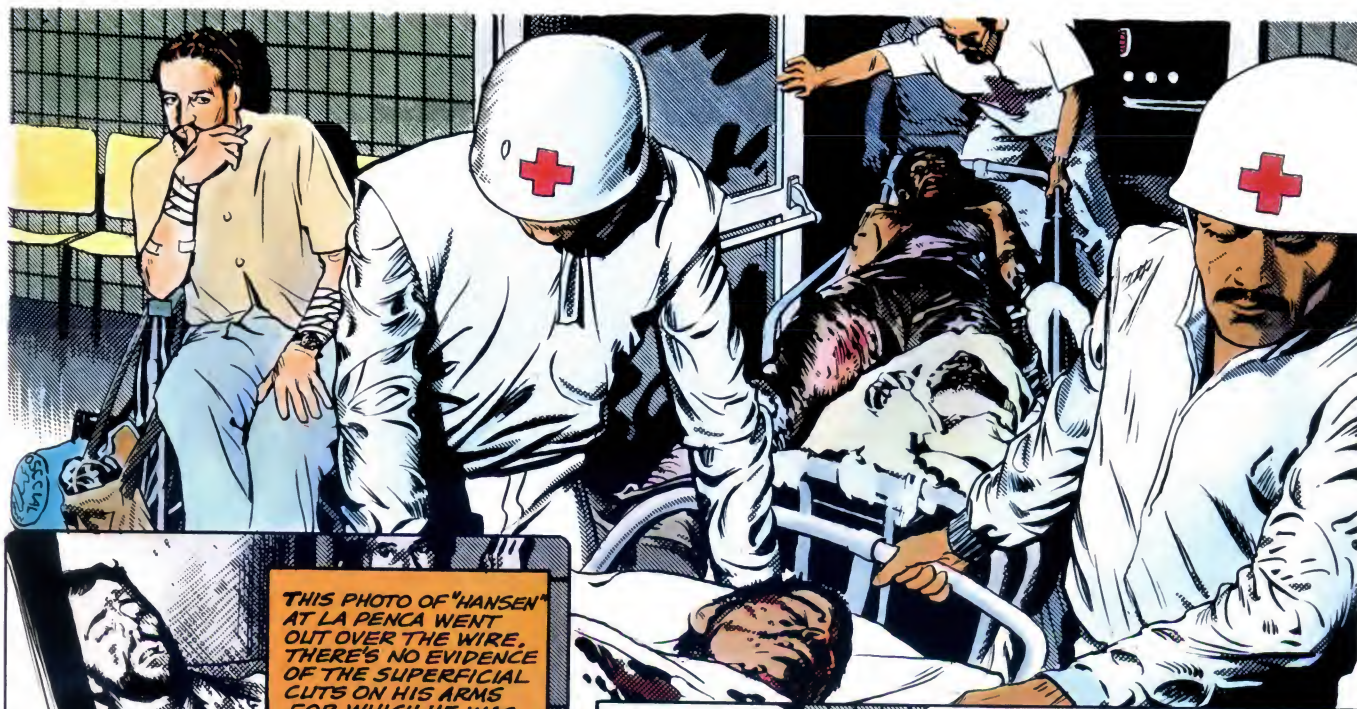
I'VE NEVER SEEN ANYTHING LIKE THIS. WE TOLD THEM THREE AMERICANS - TONY, LINDA AND REID MILIER - BUT THE EMBASSY WON'T SEND A HELICOPTER, MARTHA, YOU'RE NOT GOING UP THERE ALONE...

TICO TIMES EDITOR DERY DYER WAS A FRIEND AND COLLEAGUE OF LINDA FRAZIER AND MARTHA HONEY.



"CHRIS WILL DRIVE YOU. IT'S NIGHT, THAT'S A LONG DRIVE THROUGH MOUNTAIN COUNTRY, AND THE FOG IS THICK."





THIS PHOTO OF "HANSEN" AT LA PENCA WENT OUT OVER THE WIRE. THERE'S NO EVIDENCE OF THE SUPERFICIAL CUTS ON HIS ARMS FOR WHICH HE WAS LATER TREATED...

...AS THOUGH THEY WERE SELF-INFLICTED ON HIS WAY TO THE HOSPITAL.

DAMN LUCKY BACK THERE.

I WAS OUT BACK TAKING A LEAK WHEN IT HAPPENED.

PRADO'S BURNED PRETTY BAD. WE SHOULD STICK AROUND,

CAN'T,,



I'M LEAVING FOR MIAMI IN THE MORNING.

NO ONE HAS SEEN *PER ANKER HANSEN* SINCE THAT NIGHT. HE FLEW BY PRIVATE PLANE TO PANAMA, AND THEN WAS TRACED AS FAR AS MIAMI,

AT THE IRAN-CONTRA HEARINGS, ROB OWEN LATER TESTIFIED THAT HE WAS WITH JOHN HULL AND A CIA STATION CHIEF IN COSTA RICA ON THE NIGHT OF THE BOMBING...



WE WERE ALL SOMEWHAT SADDENED, BECAUSE ANY TIME REPORTERS AND AMERICANS ARE KILLED, IT'S ALWAYS A SAD TIME.

...ON A "MISSION" FOR OLIVER NORTH.

(OWEN AND HULL HAD FIRST MET IN THE OFFICE OF DAN QUAYLE IN 1983.)



THE BOMB "HANSEN" CARRIED IN HIS CAMERA CASE WAS MADE OF C-4 EXPLOSIVES. EIGHT PEOPLE DIED. TWENTY-EIGHT WERE BADLY INJURED, BURNED, LIMBS MANGLED OR TORN OFF, EYES AND HEARING LOST.

JUNE 1984:
MARTHA AND TONY
BEGAN AN INVESTI-
GATION THAT WAS
SPONSORED BY THE
NEWSPAPER GUILD
AND THE COMMITTEE
TO PROTECT JOUR-
NALISTS. THEY HAD
TO KNOW.



CARMEN WILL DO THAT
FOR YOU, IF YOU CAN
JUST WAIT.

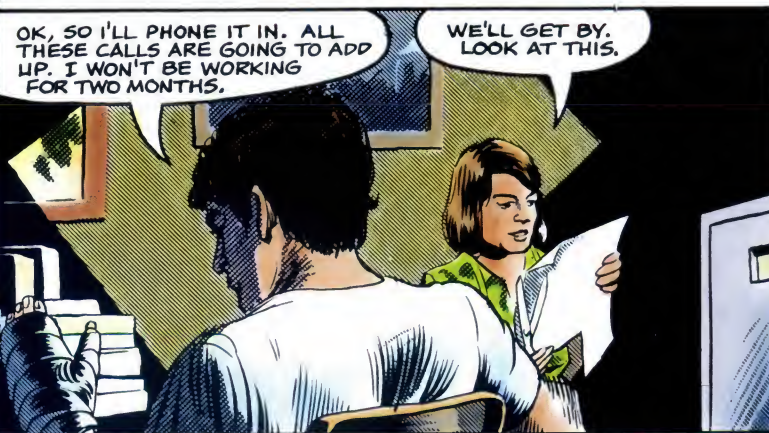


CAN'T. PROMISED THE IN-
VENTORY ON ALL THE EQUIP-
MENT WE LOST WOULD GO
OUT THIS WEEK.



OK, SO I'LL PHONE IT IN. ALL
THESE CALLS ARE GOING TO ADD
UP. I WON'T BE WORKING
FOR TWO MONTHS.

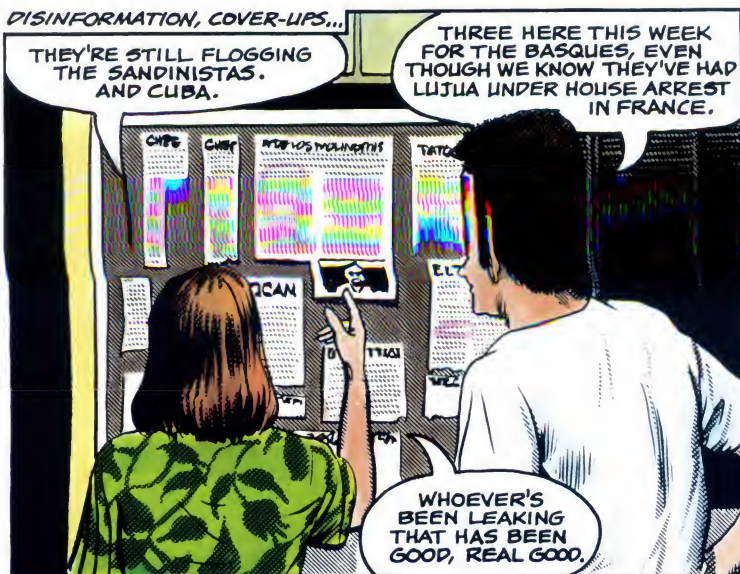
WE'LL GET BY.
LOOK AT THIS.



DISINFORMATION, COVER-UPS...

THEY'RE STILL FLOGGING
THE SANDINISTAS.
AND CUBA.

THREE HERE THIS WEEK
FOR THE BASQUES, EVEN
THOUGH WE KNOW THEY'VE HAD
LUJUA UNDER HOUSE ARREST
IN FRANCE.

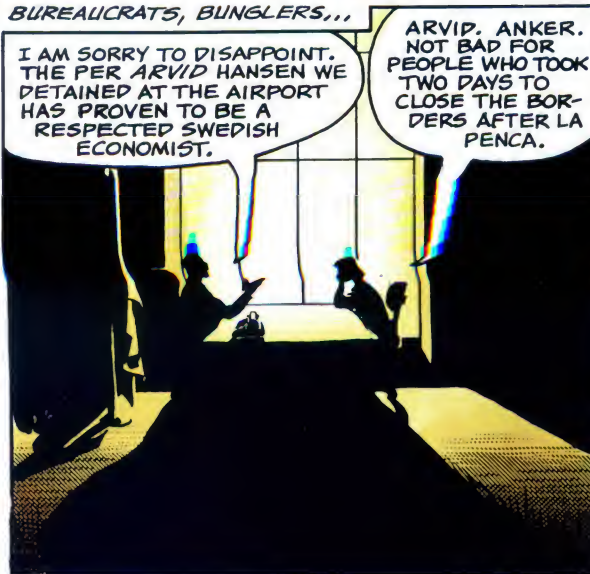


WHOEVER'S
BEEN LEAKING
THAT HAS BEEN
GOOD, REAL GOOD.

BUREAUCRATS, BUNGLERS...

I AM SORRY TO DISAPPOINT.
THE PER ARVID HANSEN WE
DETAINED AT THE AIRPORT
HAS PROVEN TO BE A
RESPECTED SWEDISH
ECONOMIST.

ARVID. ANKER.
NOT BAD FOR
PEOPLE WHO TOOK
TWO DAYS TO
CLOSE THE BOR-
DERS AFTER LA
PENCA.



I ADMIT THERE
HAS BEEN CONFUSION,
BUT BE ASSURED THAT
SIX DIFFERENT STORIES
AS TO THE IDENTITY OF
SEÑOR ANKER "HANSEN"
HAVE CROSSED MY
DESK.



WE'VE HEARD 20.



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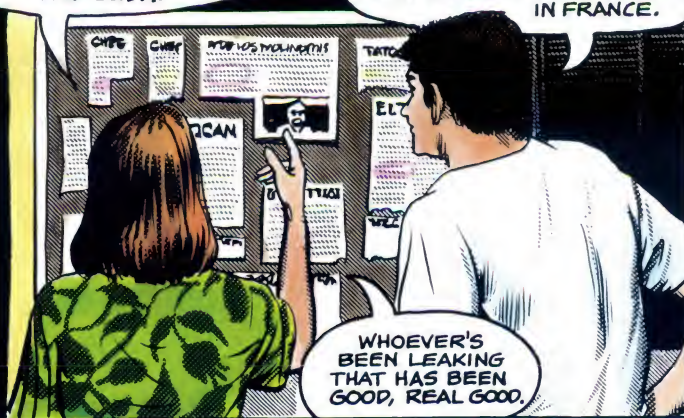


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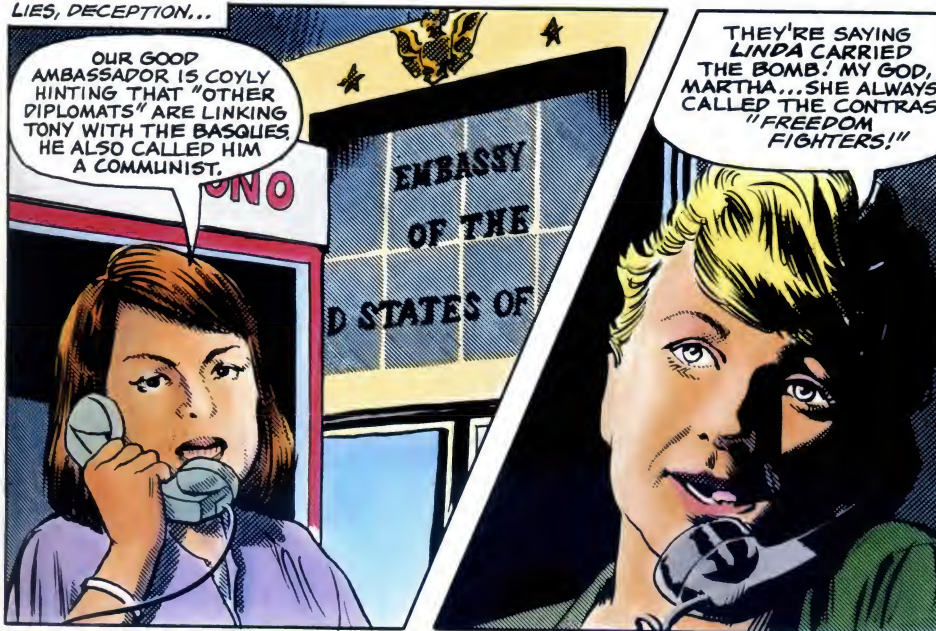
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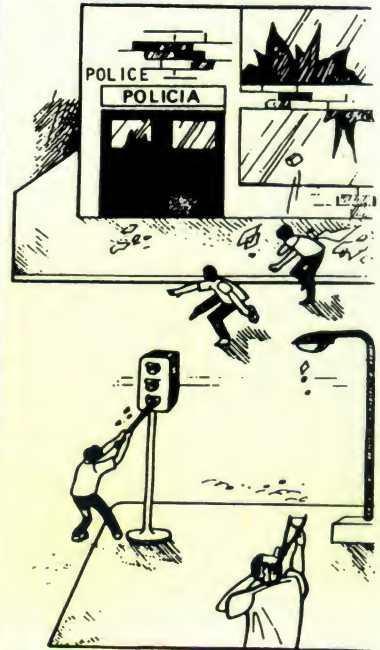
WE'VE HEARD 20.



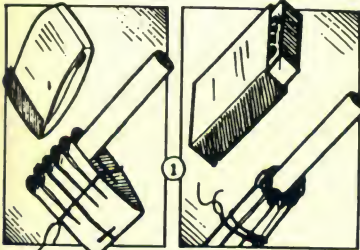
LIES, DECEPTION...



THE CIA HAD ALREADY BEEN CAUGHT ILLEGALLY MINING NICARAGUAN HARBORS. EDGAR CHAMORRO REVEALED A CIA MANUAL WHICH TALKED ABOUT THE NEED FOR POLITICAL ASSASSINATIONS AND SABOTAGE. THE CIA ALSO PRINTED AND DISTRIBUTED A COMIC BOOK FOR CONTRAS.



1. PLACE AN UNLIGHTED CIGARETTE BETWEEN TWO ROWS OF MATCHES. UNITE THEM TOGETHER BY TYING THEM FIRMLY WITH A STRING.
2. WRAP THE MATCHES IN DRY PAPER OR ANY OTHER INFLAMMABLE SUBSTANCE. PLACE THE DEVICE



INCENDIARY BOMB ("MOLOTOV COCKTAIL")
1. FILL A NARROW-NECKED BOTTLE WITH GASOLINE, KEROSENE, OR BURNABLE DIESEL; BETTER STILL, IF SHREDDED SOAP OR SAWDUST ADDED.
2. INSERT A RAG IN THE BOTTLE UNTIL ONE END TOUCHES THE LIQUID AND THE OTHER EXTENDS NO MORE THAN 20cm FROM THE RIM OF THE BOTTLE. SEAL THE BOTTLE TIGHTLY WITH A STRING OR TAPE.



UNDER THE BOLAND AMENDMENT, CONGRESS BANNED "DIRECT OR INDIRECT" U.S. MILITARY AID TO THE CONTRAS. CIA DIRECTOR WILLIAM CASEY, NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR ROBERT MCFARLANE, LT. COL. OLIVER NORTH, ROB OWEN AND OTHER WHITE HOUSE OFFICIALS SET UP A PRIVATE CONTRA SUPPORT NETWORK LED BY NORTH.



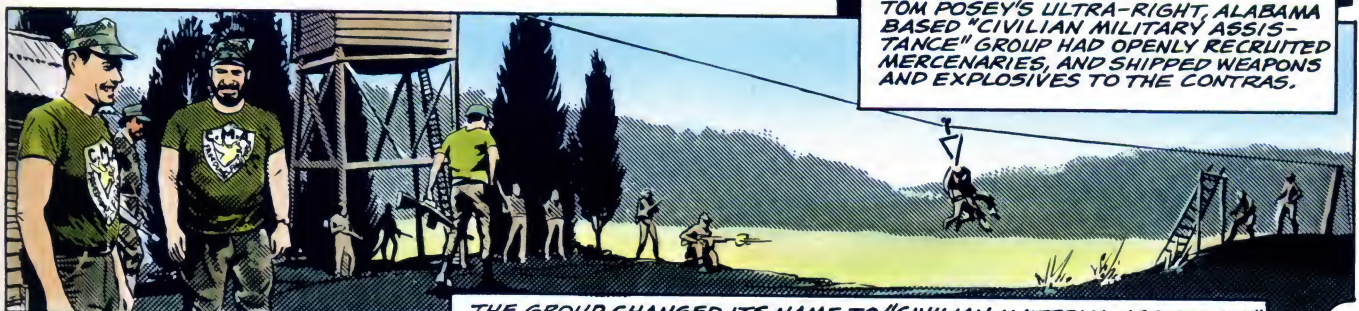
BETWEEN EMPTY WOODEN OR CARTON BOXES.
3. LIGHT THE CIGARETTE AT THE FREE END. THE MATCHES WILL LIGHT IN 5 OR 10 MINUTES.



3. TO ACTIVATE THE DEVICE:
A) HOLD THE BOTTLE IN ONE HAND WITH YOUR ARM EXTENDED.
B) LIGHT THE RAG WITH YOUR OTHER HAND.
C) IMMEDIATELY THROW THE LIGHTED BOTTLE AT YOUR OBJECTIVE WITH SUFFICIENT FORCE THAT IT BREAKS ON IMPACT.



TOM POSEY'S ULTRA-RIGHT, ALABAMA BASED "CIVILIAN MILITARY ASSISTANCE" GROUP HAD OPENLY RECRUITED MERCENARIES, AND SHIPPED WEAPONS AND EXPLOSIVES TO THE CONTRAS.



THE GROUP CHANGED ITS NAME TO "CIVILIAN MATERIAL ASSISTANCE."

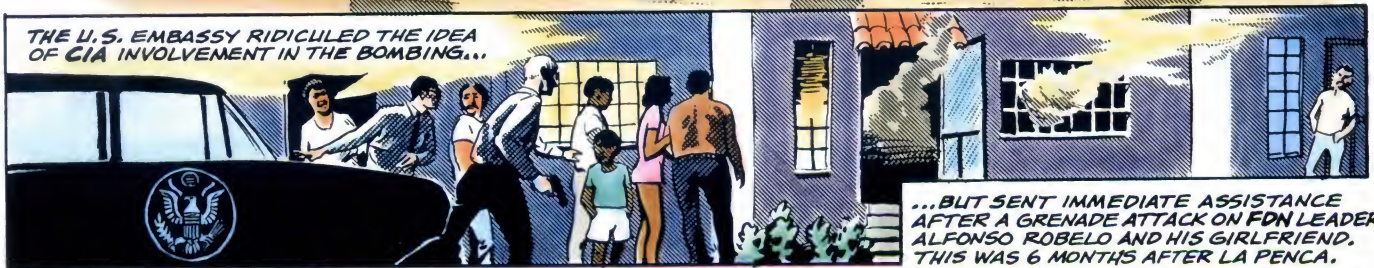


CASA PRESIDENCIAL, COSTA RICA: SEVERAL GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS, INCLUDING A CABINET MINISTER, WORKED CLOSELY WITH TONY AND MARTHA.

VERY SUDDENLY, THEY STOPPED RETURNING PHONE CALLS. EVENTUALLY,,

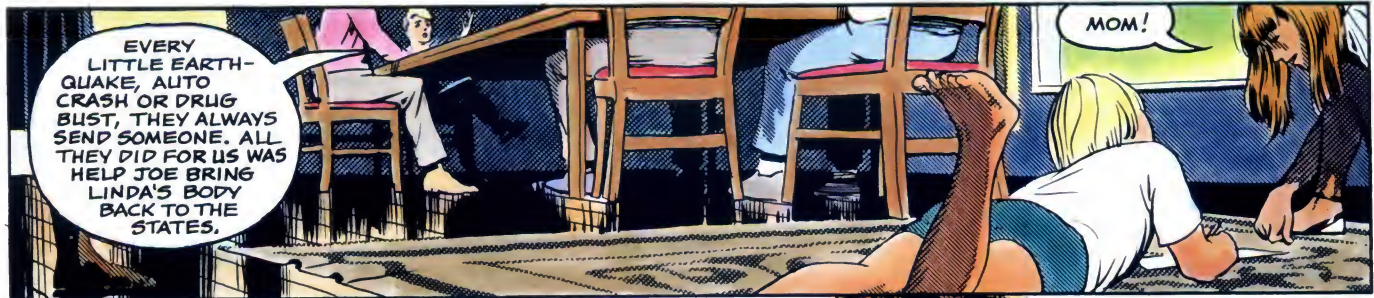
OUR HOMES AND OFFICES HAVE BEEN BUGGED. THE PATH YOU FOLLOW IS THE CORRECT PATH, BUT AT THE END OF THAT PATH LIES THE CIA.

NO GOOD CAN COME TO OUR VERY SMALL COUNTRY IF WE CONTINUE ALONG THAT PATH. WE EACH HAVE FAMILIES, AND NO GOOD WOULD COME TO THEM. OUR INVESTIGATION IS OVER. I AM SORRY.



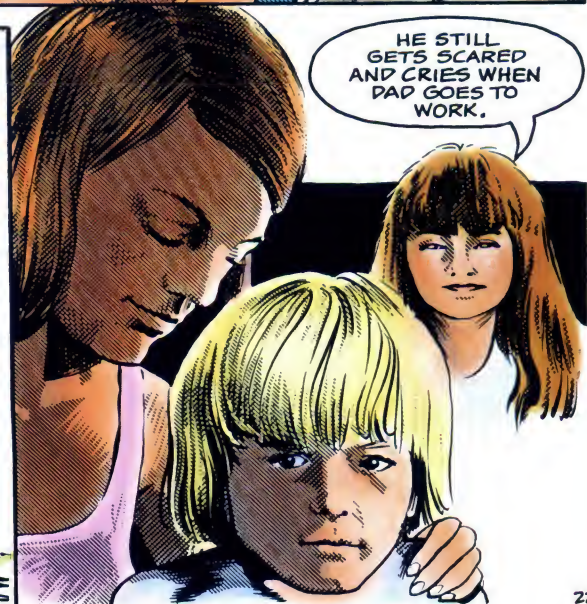
THE U.S. EMBASSY RIDICULED THE IDEA OF CIA INVOLVEMENT IN THE BOMBING...

...BUT SENT IMMEDIATE ASSISTANCE AFTER A GRENADE ATTACK ON FDN LEADER ALFONSO ROBELO AND HIS GIRLFRIEND. THIS WAS 6 MONTHS AFTER LA PENCA.



EVERY LITTLE EARTHQUAKE, AUTO CRASH OR DRUG BUST, THEY ALWAYS SEND SOMEONE. ALL THEY DID FOR US WAS HELP JOE BRING LINDA'S BODY BACK TO THE STATES.

MOM!



HE STILL GETS SCARED AND CRIES WHEN DAD GOES TO WORK.

MARCH, 1985:
PETER GLIBBERY
WAS RECRUITED
AS A MERCENARY
BY TOM POSEY.
HE MET JOHN
HULL IN MIAMI,
AT THE AIRPORT
HOWARD JOHNSON'S

I'M
A LITTLE
SHORT OF
FUNDS...

YOUR ROOM'S
ALREADY PAID
FOR. LET ME MAKE
UP THE DIFFERENCE
ON YOUR TICKET
TO COSTA
RICA.

COSTA RICA: THE
RENDEZVOUS BAR, NEAR
THE U.S. EMBASSY,
FRIDAY, MARCH 29, 1985...

PAYDAY FOR A YOUNG
COSTA RICAN CARPENTER
NAMED CARLOS ROJAS.

WAIT.
WE'LL BE BACK
FOR YOU IN A
FEW MINUTES.

HIDE ME -- HELP ME GET
AWAY. I WANT OUT -- THEY
ARE GOING TO DYNAMITE THE
U.S. EMBASSY. MANY
PEOPLE WILL DIE.

CAN'T TRUST
THE AUTHORITIES--
SAFER WITH A STRANGER.
CALL ME DAVID. I'M ANTI-
SANDINISTA. BUT THESE
MEN ARE MORE
EVIL.
THEY SELL
DRUGS, GUNS -- WORK
FOR THE CONTRAS AND
THE CIA. THEIR BASE--
A RICH AMERICAN
NAMED JOHN
HULL...

U.S. EM-
BASSY?

NEW
U.S. AMBASSADOR
TRANSFERRING
SOON FROM
COLOMBIA.
THEY'LL BOMB
THE EMBASSY,
THEN BLAME
NICARAGUA,
LIKE WHEN
THEY BOMBED
PASTORA, THEY--

I
STOP HERE
EVERY FRIDAY,
AFTER
WORK.

CARLOS KNEW LITTLE
OF CONTRA POLITICS.
"DAVID'S" STORY
PUZZLED HIM.
SEVERAL WEEKS
LATER HE HEARD
OF AN FDN CAMP
THAT WAS RAIDED.
AMONG THE MER-
CENARIES ARRES-
TED WITH THE
CONTRAS WERE
PETER GLIBBERY,
STEVEN CARR AND
ROBERT THOMPSON.

THE CAMP WAS ON LAND
CONTROLLED BY JOHN HULL.



CARLOS BEGAN TO REALIZE THAT THE REST OF DAVID'S STORY COULD BE TRUE.

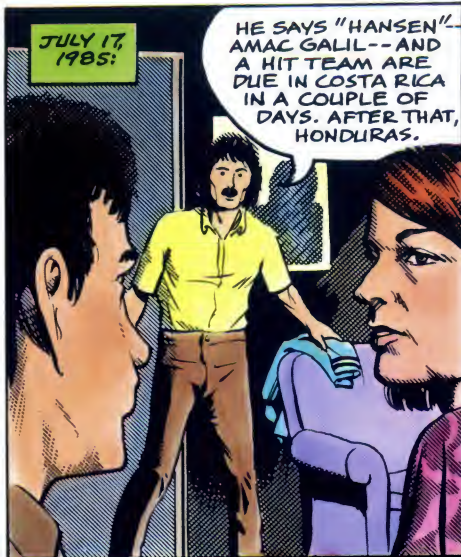
HE ASKED AN AMERICAN NEIGHBOR TO CALL THE U.S. EMBASSY. HE DIDN'T KNOW JULIA WORKED FOR TONY AVIRGAN AND MARTHA HONEY.

BETTER TO HEAR NOTHING, SEE NOTHING, DO NOTHING!

MARTHA WANTS TO KNOW IF YOU CAN TALK TO DAVID AGAIN.



CARLOS TRUSTED TONY AND MARTHA. HE MET WITH DAVID SEVERAL TIMES, WHO TALKED BY TELEPHONE TO TONY AND MARTHA, BUT KEPT HIS DISTANCE. HE WAS TOO AFRAID OF DISCOVERY TO BE SEEN WITH AMERICAN JOURNALISTS.



JULY 17, 1985:

HE SAYS "HANSEN" - AMAC GALIL - - AND A HIT TEAM ARE DUE IN COSTA RICA IN A COUPLE OF DAYS. AFTER THAT, HONDURAS.

MAJOR HARRY BARRANTES WAS HEAD OF INTELLIGENCE FOR THE COSTA RICAN RURAL GUARD. HE COMMANDED AN ANTI-TERRORIST UNIT.

I SEE WE ARE ALL VERY INTERESTED IN THE CONTRAS AND THE DRUG OPERATIONS THAT SEEM TO SURROUND MR. HULL.

THE NEW YORK TIMES REPORTED A WARNING FROM PRESIDENT REAGAN THAT THE SANDINISTAS WOULD BE HELD ACCOUNTABLE FOR ANY ACTS OF TERRORISM PLANNED FOR HONDURAS, OR ELSEWHERE IN CENTRAL AMERICA.

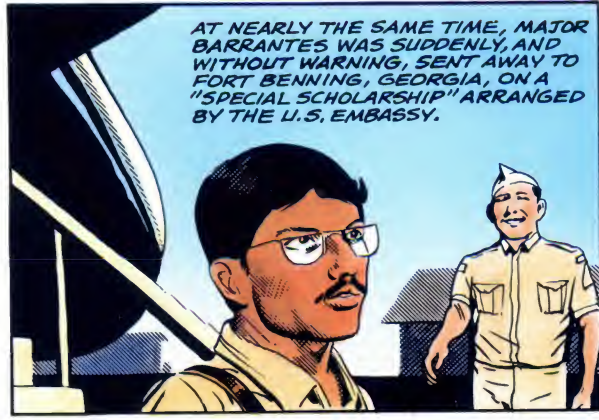
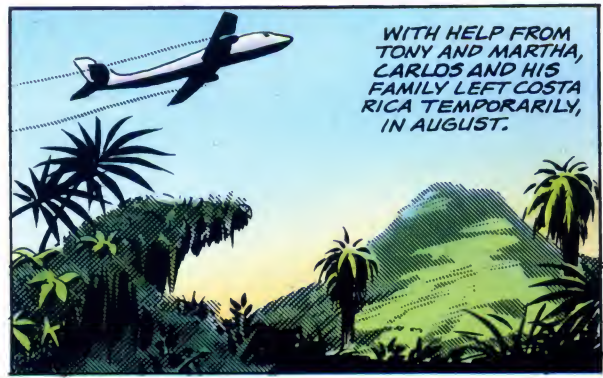
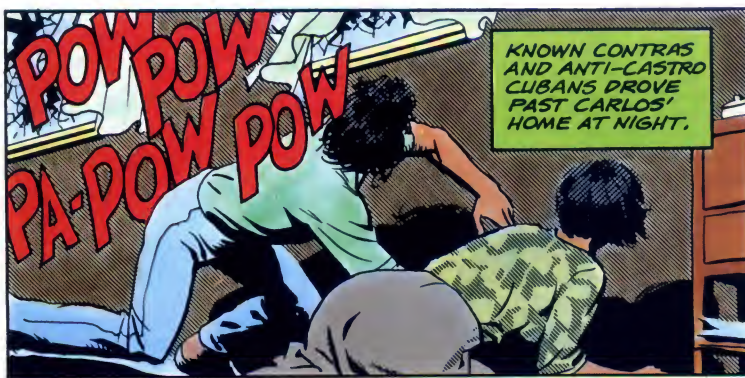
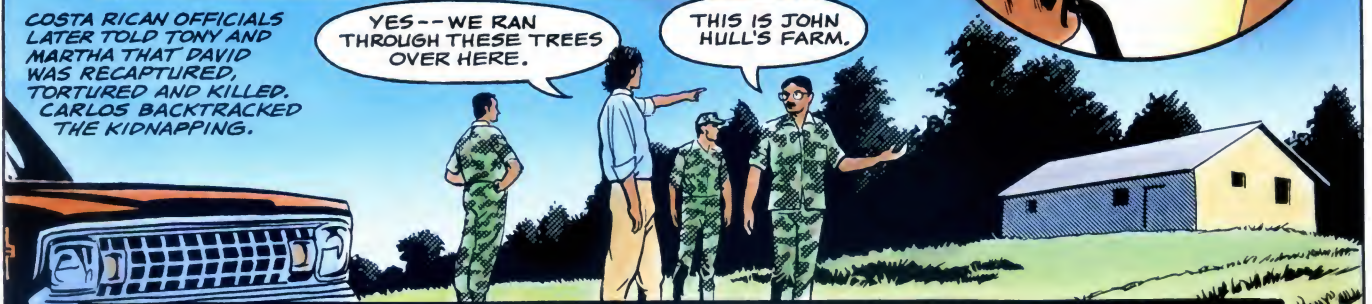
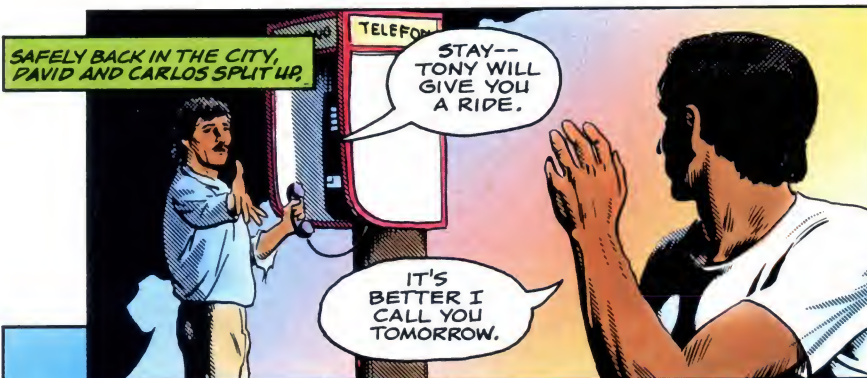
IT'S STARTING ALL OVER AGAIN.

IT NEVER STOPPED.

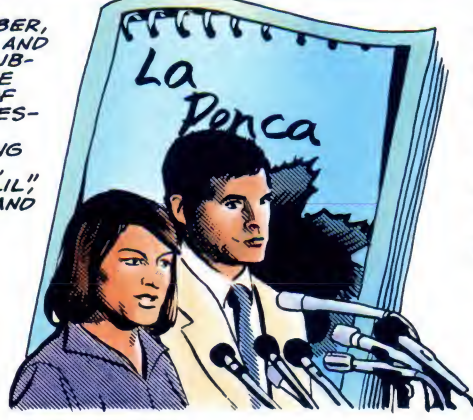


BLINDFOLDED BY THEIR OWN CLOTHING, CARLOS AND DAVID RODE FIVE OR SIX HOURS IN DARKNESS. THE END OF THE ROAD WAS BUMPY AND DAMAGED.



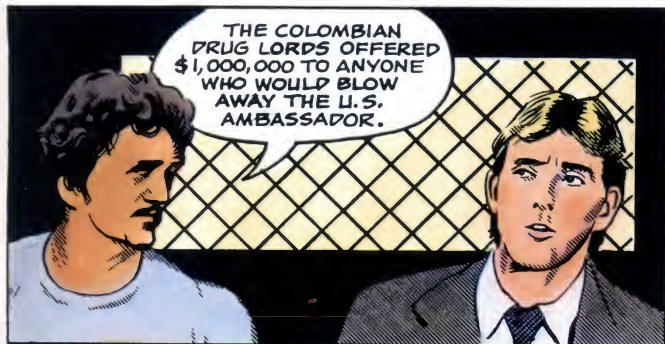


IN SEPTEMBER, 1985, TONY AND MARTHA PUBLISHED THE RESULTS OF THEIR INVESTIGATION IMPLICATING JOHN HULL, "AMAC GALIL," THE FDN AND THE CIA.

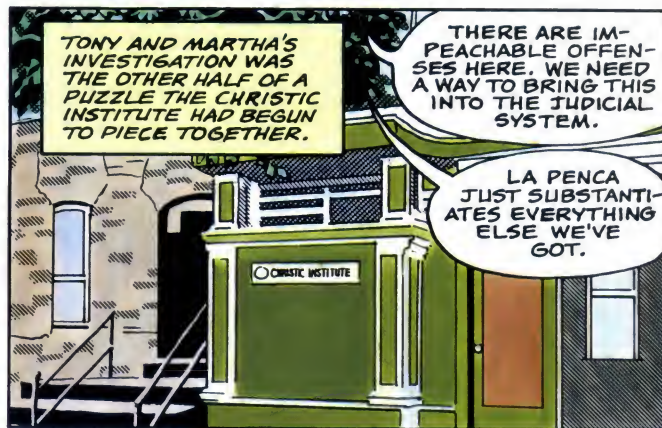


DAYS LATER, JOHN HULL FILED CRIMINAL CHARGES AGAINST BOTH, DEMANDING \$500,000 IN DAMAGES AND \$500,000 COURT COSTS FOR INJURIES, FALSEHOOD AND DEFACTION OF CHARACTER.

OCTOBER, 1985: MIAMI PUBLIC DEFENDER JOHN MATTES REPRESENTED A CUBAN-AMERICAN NAMED JESUS GARCIA ON A GUN POSSESSION CHARGE. GARCIA CLAIMED TO HAVE ATTENDED MEETINGS ABOUT AN EMBASSY BOMBING PLOT.



THE COLOMBIAN DRUG LORDS OFFERED \$1,000,000 TO ANYONE WHO WOULD BLOW AWAY THE U.S. AMBASSADOR.



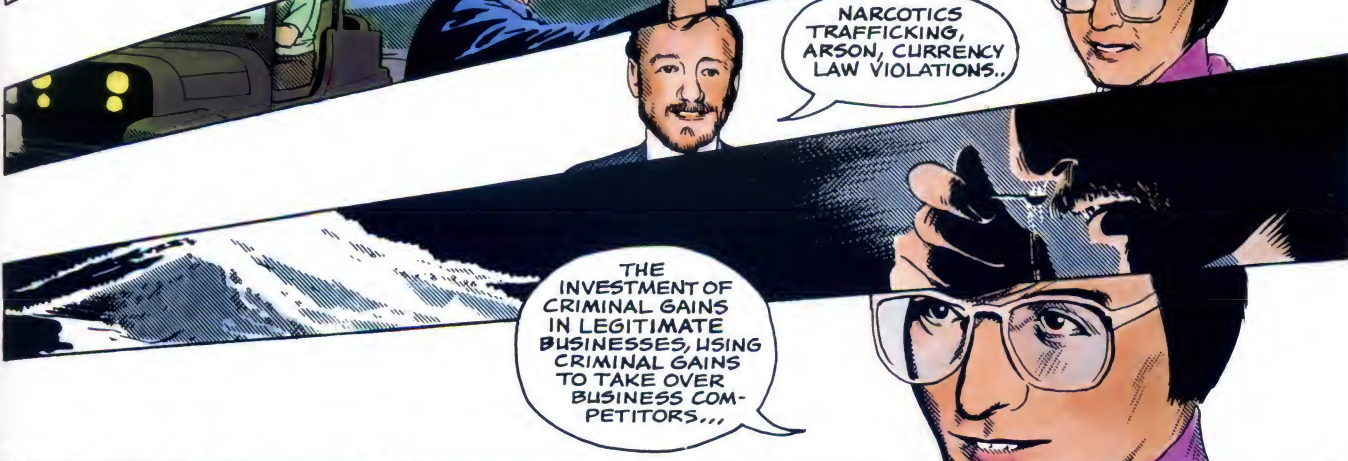
TONY AND MARTHA'S INVESTIGATION WAS THE OTHER HALF OF A PUZZLE THE CHRISTIC INSTITUTE HAD BEGUN TO PIECE TOGETHER.

THERE ARE IMPEACHABLE OFFENSES HERE. WE NEED A WAY TO BRING THIS INTO THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM.

LA PENCA JUST SUBSTANTIATES EVERYTHING ELSE WE'VE GOT.



TONY AVIRGAN IS A FREELANCE TELEVISION CAMERAMAN. HE WAS PERSONALLY INJURED, HIS BUSINESS AND PROPERTY DAMAGED OR DESTROYED...



BY AN ENTERPRISE THAT USED MURDER, GUN-RUNNING...

ASSAULT AND BATTERY, KIDNAPPING...

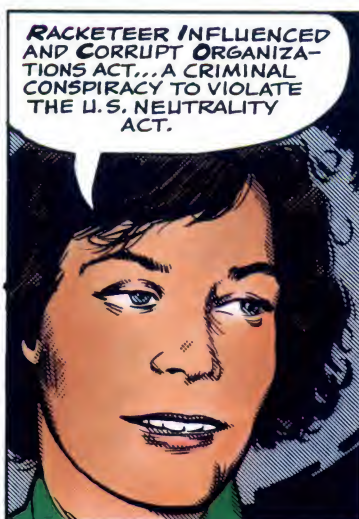
NARCOTICS TRAFFICKING, ARSON, CURRENCY LAW VIOLATIONS..

THE INVESTMENT OF CRIMINAL GAINS IN LEGITIMATE BUSINESSES, USING CRIMINAL GAINS TO TAKE OVER BUSINESS COMPETITORS...

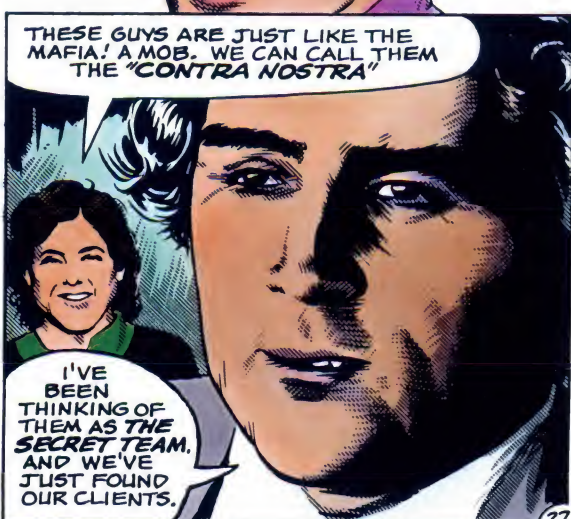


ORGANIZED CRIME. WE'RE TALKING RICO.

WHO'S RICO? WE'VE GOT THAT GUY PACO...



RACKETEER INFLUENCED AND CORRUPT ORGANIZATIONS ACT... A CRIMINAL CONSPIRACY TO VIOLATE THE U.S. NEUTRALITY ACT.



THESE GUYS ARE JUST LIKE THE MAFIA! A MOB. WE CAN CALL THEM THE "CONTRA NOSTRA"

I'VE BEEN THINKING OF THEM AS THE SECRET TEAM. AND WE'VE JUST FOUND OUR CLIENTS.

DAN SHEEHAN AND FR. BILL DAVIS JOINED COSTA RICAN ATTORNEY OTO CASTRO. CASTRO REFUSED TO ACCEPT ANY FEE FOR THE LIBEL CASE BROUGHT BY HULL.

LIBEL IS A CRIMINAL CHARGE IN COSTA RICA--IN ADDITION TO DAMAGES, BOTH OF YOU COULD BE IMPRISONED.

I THINK IT'S TIME WE TURNED THIS AROUND AND PUT JOHN HULL ON TRIAL.

MERCENARIES STEVEN CARR AND PETER GLIBBERY AGREED TO APPEAR AS WITNESSES AGAINST HULL, BUT WERE REPEATEDLY DENIED BAIL UNTIL SUDDENLY, JUST BEFORE THE TRIAL, ALL OF THE MERCENARIES WERE BAILED OUT BY AN EMPLOYEE OF JOHN HULL, WITH MONEY RECEIVED THROUGH A CIA AGENT IN WASHINGTON.

THE MAN CAN'T BE TRUSTED. HE EXPECTED US TO STAY ON HIS RANCH. HE'S BEEN PRESSURING US.

WE'RE SAFER WITH YOU...

I VIOLATED PAROLE WHEN I LEFT THE U.S. MY UNCLE WAS CIA AT ONE TIME, SO I CALLED HIM. HE SAYS I SHOULD GO DOWN TO THE EMBASSY.

CARR DISAPPEARED ONLY DAYS BEFORE THE TRIAL.

TEN WITNESSES TESTIFIED FOR TONY AND MARTHA. JOHN HULL DID NOT TAKE THE STAND, CONFIDENTLY PRODUCING ONLY ONE WITNESS FOR HIMSELF, MERCENARY ROBERT THOMPSON. THOMPSON APPEARED IN COURT WEARING A JACKET BORROWED FROM HULL.

MR. HULL IS A NICE MAN. HE JUST WANTED TO HELP ME, NOTHING MORE.

STEVEN CARR CALLED TONY AND MARTHA TWO WEEKS LATER, FROM A FLORIDA PRISON.

THE GUY AT THE EMBASSY TOLD ME TO "GET OUT OF DODGE," BOUGHT MY TICKET, PULLED STRINGS AT THE BORDER, AND THEN THEY BUSTED ME AS SOON AS I GOT OFF THE PLANE.

JOHN HULL LOST, MUCH TO HIS SURPRISE, TWO DAYS LATER, ON THE SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF THE LA PENCA BOMBING, THE CHRISTIC INSTITUTE FILED A LAWSUIT IN A MIAMI FEDERAL COURT, UNDER THE RICO ACT, AGAINST 29 MEMBERS OF WHAT IT CALLED "THE ENTERPRISE" OR "THE SECRET TEAM."

CARR CONTINUED TO SPEAK OUT ABOUT THE CONTRA DRUGS AND ARMS CONNECTION. ON JUNE 25, 1986 HE APPEARED ON THE CBS TELEVISION PROGRAM WEST 57TH STREET.

THERE'S NO CONCEIVABLE WAY THEY COULD NOT KNOW WHAT JOHN HULL WAS DOING.



DECEMBER, 1986: TWO WEEKS AFTER HE WAS RELEASED FROM PRISON, CARR WENT OUT FOR A SHORT WALK, AND WAS FOUND DEAD FROM A MASSIVE OVERDOSE OF COCAINE.

PETER GLIBBERY WOULD LATER QUOTE HULL AS TELLING HIM "THE CIA KILLED STEVEN CARR. THEY'LL DO THE SAME TO YOU."

ASK ABOUT THE COCAINE!

THE IRAN-CONTRA HEARINGS DID NOT PRESS THE QUESTION OF DRUG-SMUGGLING OR LA PENCA, DESPITE PUBLIC DEMANDS.

I REGARD THE CHRISTIC INSTITUTE LAWSUIT AS A RATHER MINOR THREAT THAT WILL BE TOSSED OUT OF COURT SHORTLY.

GENERAL RICHARD SECORD SPOKE CONFIDENTLY AT THE IRAN-CONTRA HEARINGS...

HOWEVER, MORE THAN \$100,000 FROM SWISS IRAN-CONTRA BANK ACCOUNTS WAS PAID OUT FOR...

... ANY DEROGATORY INFORMATION I COULD FIND OUT ABOUT THEM FOR USE BY GENERAL SECORD AND HIS LAWYER IN THE CHRISTIC INSTITUTE LAWSUIT.

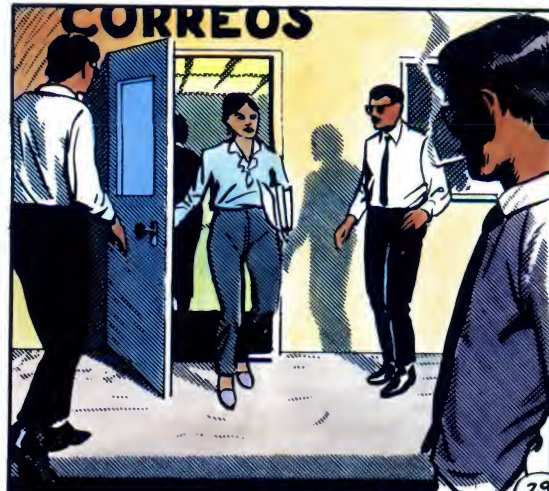
A FORMER CIA OPERATIVE, GLEN ROBINETTE, WAS HIRED TWO MONTHS BEFORE THE RICO SUIT WAS EVEN ANNOUNCED BY THE CHRISTIC INSTITUTE.

COSTA RICA: MAY 12, 1987: SECRETARY CARMEN ARAYA PICKED UP MAIL AND PACKAGES FOR TONY AND MARTHA AS USUAL.

45 COLONES POSTAGE DUE FOR THE PACKAGE OF BOOKS FROM ENGLAND.

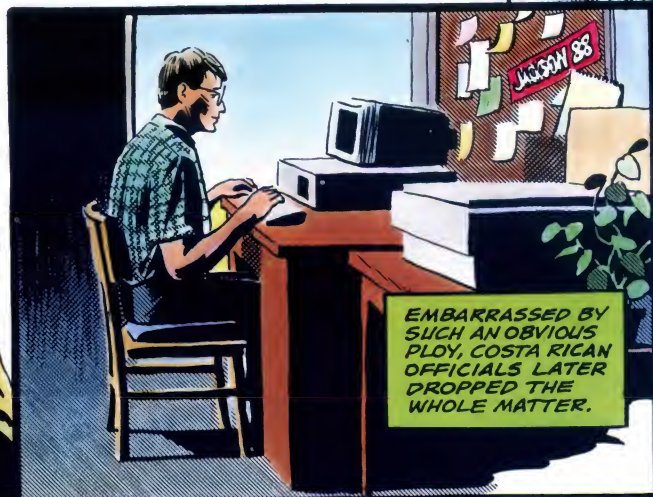
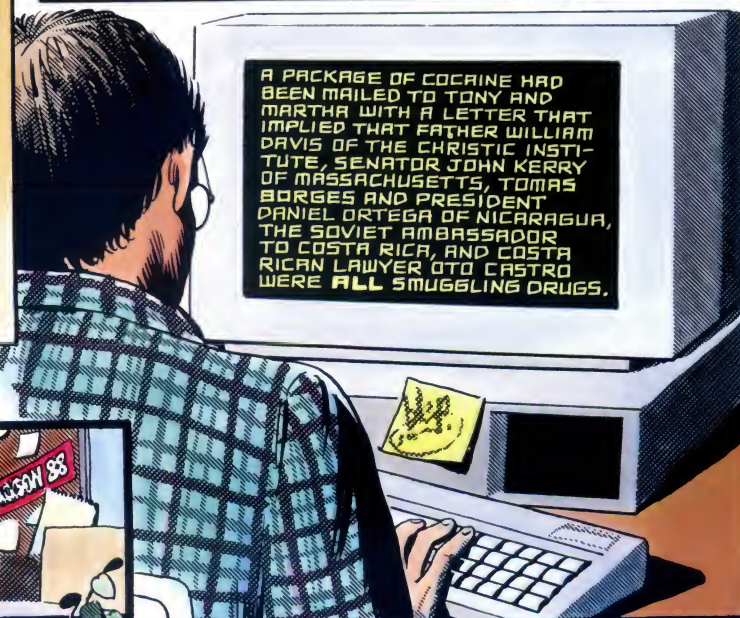
AND THE PACKAGE FROM NICARAGUA..?

NO CHARGE.

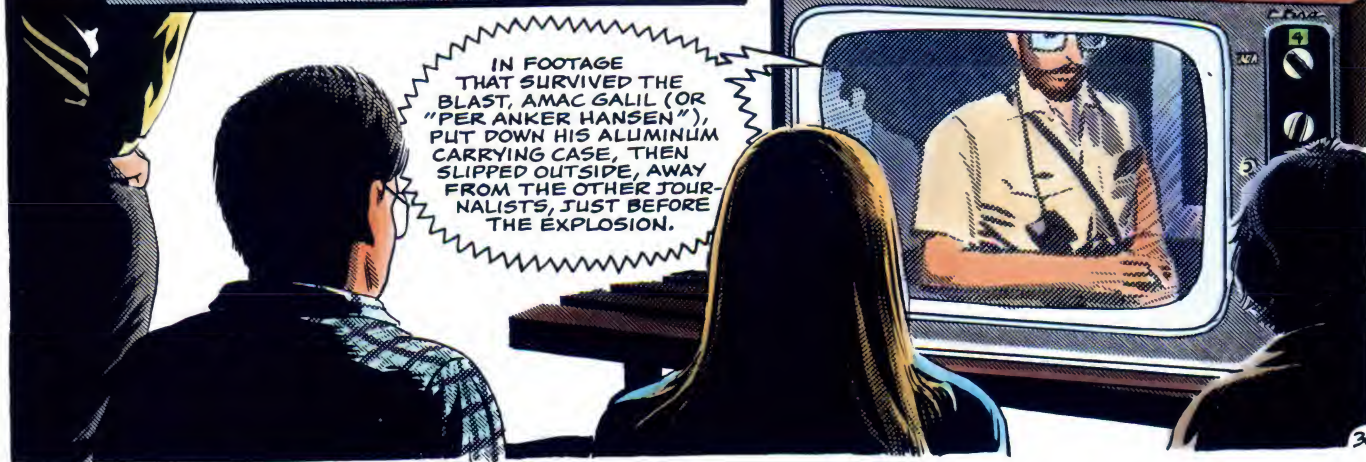




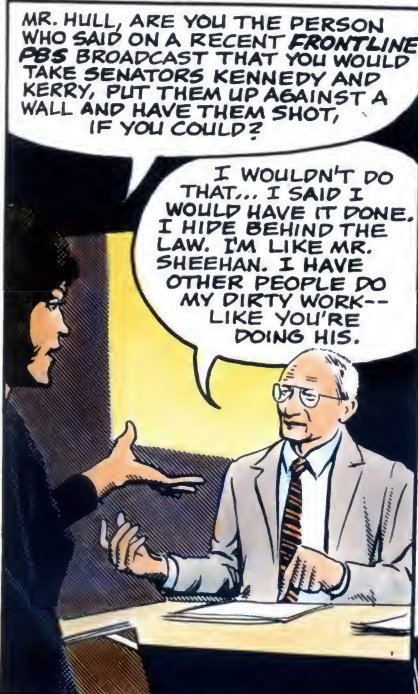
CHRISTIC INSTITUTE ORGANIZER RUSTY MARTIN PASSED THE STORY ALONG ON PEACENET, A COMPUTER BULLETIN BOARD.



ACROSS THE COUNTRY, CHRISTIC INSTITUTE SUPPORTERS ORGANIZED FUNDRAISERS AND MEDIA CAMPAIGNS. THEY WATCHED VIDEOTAPED DOCUMENTARIES ABOUT LA PENCA AT HOUSE PARTIES.



MIAMI, MAY, 1988: UNDER THE **RICO** STATUTE, CHRISTIC INSTITUTE ATTORNEYS WERE ABLE TO SUBPOENA AND DEPOSE WITNESSES. EDITH HOLLEMAN QUESTIONED JOHN HULL.



MR. HULL, ARE YOU THE PERSON WHO SAID ON A RECENT **FRONTLINE** PBS BROADCAST THAT YOU WOULD TAKE SENATORS KENNEDY AND KERRY, PUT THEM UP AGAINST A WALL AND HAVE THEM SHOT, IF YOU COULD?

I WOULDN'T DO THAT... I SAID I WOULD HAVE IT DONE. I HIDE BEHIND THE LAW. I'M LIKE MR. SHEEHAN. I HAVE OTHER PEOPLE DO MY DIRTY WORK-- LIKE YOU'RE DOING HIS.

HULL LATER CHALLENGED CHRISTIC ATTORNEY DAN SHEEHAN TO A FIST FIGHT, AND WALKED OUT... DURING THE DEPOSITION!

MAY 27, 1988: GEORGE BUSH ON THE CAMPAIGN TRAIL.



IF GENERAL NOREIGA REVEALS DETAILS OF THE CONTRA SUPPLY OPERATIONS THAT SHOW YOU KNEW MORE THAN YOU HAVE SAID YOU KNEW, WILL THAT HURT YOUR CHANCES OF ELECTION?

IF HE...OR ANY OF THESE LITTLE LEFT-WING OUTFITS LIKE THE CHRISTIC INSTITUTE HAVE SOMETHING, LET'S SEE WHAT IT IS...

"...LET THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE IT EXAMINED AND HAVE A FAIR RESOLUTION MADE."

A REPORTER IN MIAMI JUST TIPPED US TO "EXPECT THE WORST." JUDGE KING IS GOING TO MAKE SOME KIND OF STATEMENT.

THE CHRISTIC INSTITUTE, WASHINGTON D.C., JUNE 23, 1988.

FOUR DAYS BEFORE THE TRIAL STARTS?

AND WE'VE JUST MOVED MOST OF OUR OFFICE DOWN TO MIAMI, TO BE NEAR THE COURTHOUSE. PEOPLE HAVE PACKED, SIGNED SUBLETS. I DON'T KNOW...



JUDGE KING RULED THAT THE CHRISTIC INSTITUTE "PRESENTED NO DIRECT EVIDENCE NOR EYE-WITNESS TESTIMONY SHOWING "HANSEN" WAS AT THE PRESS CONFERENCE, LET ALONE WHETHER HE SET THE BOMB."

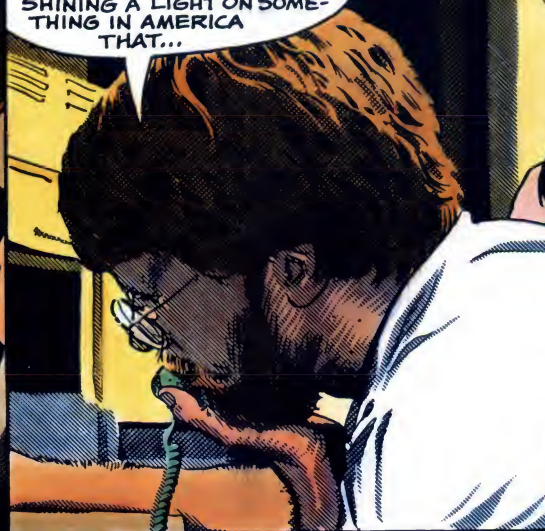


THIS IS AN OUTRAGE. WE ARE APPEALING THE DECISION. NOW ANY TRIAL WILL HAVE TO BEGIN AFTER THE ELECTIONS.

THE NEXT MORNING...

WE'RE FIGHTING IT ALL THE WAY. REMEMBER, THE SILKWOOD CASE WAS APPEALED FOR A YEAR. TONY AND MARTHA HAVE ALWAYS SAID THAT THIS WAS ABOUT MORE THAN WINNING A LAWSUIT. WE'RE SHINING A LIGHT ON SOMETHING IN AMERICA THAT...

KEEP THIS TO YOURSELF FOR NOW. THEY BROKE IN HERE SOME TIME LAST NIGHT. WE DON'T THINK ANY FILES WERE TAKEN, BUT WHAT THEY DID TAKE MAKES NO SENSE.



WE DON'T KNOW WHO IT WAS, OR WHAT THEY WANTED. WE'RE STILL TRYING TO FIND OUT. WE'LL LET YOU KNOW WHEN WE DO.

THE END ?

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THE PEOPLE BEHIND THE STORIES

JOYCE BRABNER is a long time activist who appears in her husband Harvey Pekar's autobiographical comic book, *American Splendor*. She edits and co-authors *Real War Stories*, a series of journalistic comic books about the military for Eclipse Comics.

THOMAS YEATES is very involved in local environmental issues in Northern California and progressive issues everywhere. He has illustrated *Swamp Thing*, *Scout*, *Capt. Eo*, *Timespirits*, and many other graphic stories.

ALAN MOORE is the celebrated author of *Watchmen*, *Miracleman*, *Swamp Thing*, and *V for Vendetta*, and is co-author of *AARGH!* (Artists Against Rampant Government Homophobia) in England.

BILL SIENKIEWICZ is among the most popular modern artists in the comics field. He has won acclaim for his work on *Elektra*, *The New Mutants*, and his current hit, *Stray Toasters*.

PAUL MAVRIDES is the editor of *Anarchy Comics* and illustrates *The Fabulous Furry Freak Brothers* with Gilbert Shelton. He is the Director of The LIES Project, devoted to exposing propaganda, and is a co-founder of the SubGenius Foundation.

SAM PARSONS is a painter whose color work has appeared in *Scout*, *Real War Stories*, *Valkyrie*, and other comics.

ECLIPSE BOOKS: Dean Mullaney, President

and Publisher; Jan Mullaney, Chairman; Catherine Yronwode, Vice President and Editor-in-Chief; Bruce Palley, Vice President and Treasurer; Sean Deming, Distribution Manager.

All of the above authors and artists are contributors to *Real War Stories*.

ALSO AVAILABLE FROM ECLIPSE BOOKS:

The Iran/Contra Scandal Trading Cards by Paul Brancato and Salim Yaqub

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